

A fetal
bill of
rights?

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IN THESE TIMES

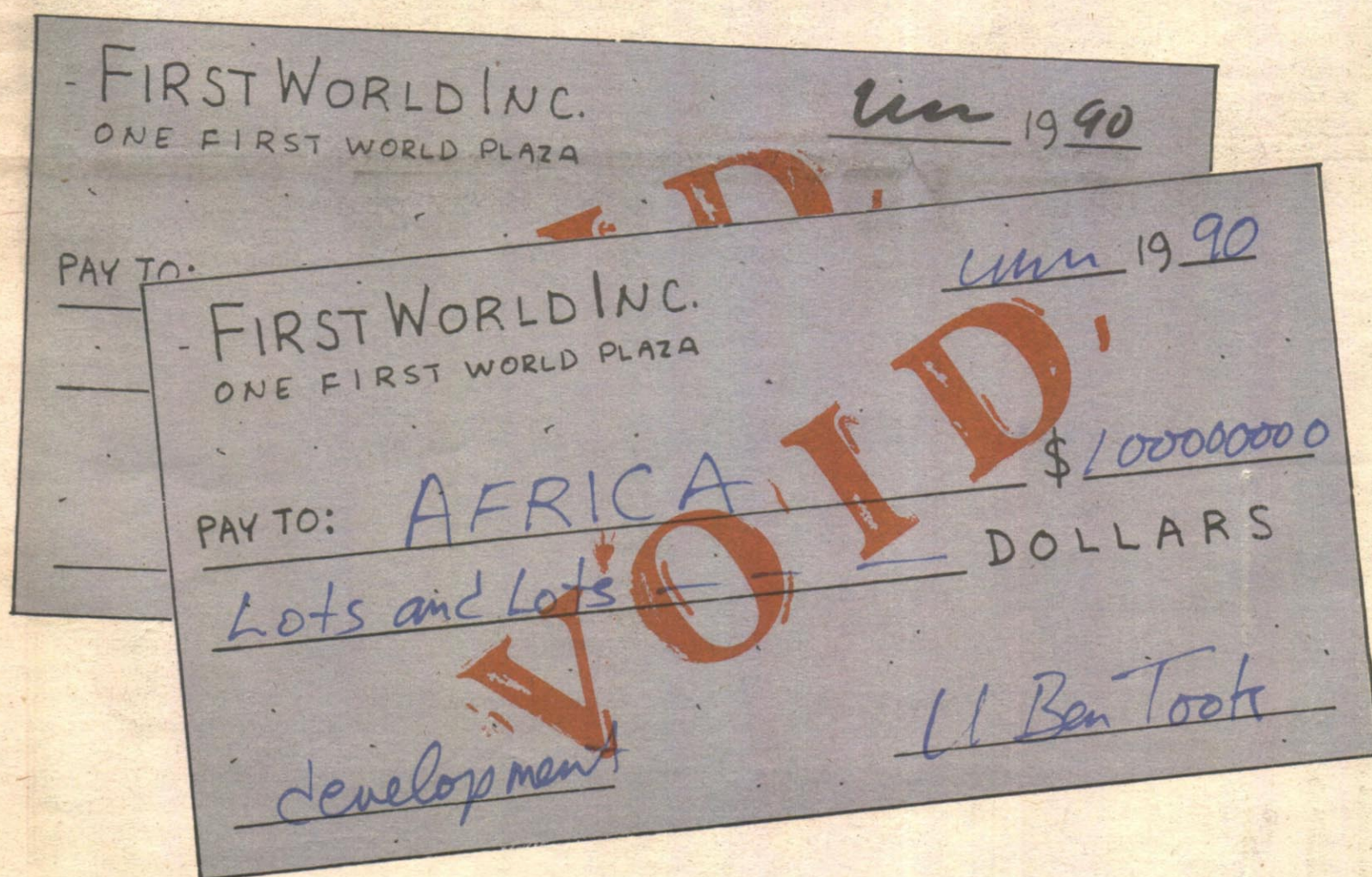
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Out of Africa

**The First World abandons
the Dark Continent**



Diana Johnstone reports

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U.S. running out of power in race to create renewable energy sources

By David Moberg

With characteristic shortsightedness and social irresponsibility, corporate America is stumbling toward the loss of yet another crucial industry. In recent years the U.S. has racked up a huge energy trade deficit with the OPEC countries. But by the turn of the century, much of that deficit may instead stem from renewable energy and energy-efficiency products from Japan and Europe.

The story is all too familiar. After blowing their lead in consumer electronics, computer chips, autos and machine tools, U.S. firms are now slipping in what is likely to become a major world industry—production of alternatives to fossil fuels. Oil price shocks spurred the first wave of interest in renewables and efficiency 15 years ago, but declining oil prices in the '80s undercut the incentive for alternatives. Now concern about the environment, especially global warming, is giving a new boost to the avoidance of fossil fuels.

But it was more than declining oil prices that hampered U.S. research and development of alternative energy sources. Former President Ronald Reagan greatly undermined such projects by slashing funding for renewable energy by 90 percent from its 1981 peak and curtailing the government cooperation needed to make new technologies commercially viable. By the mid-'80s most of the big U.S. oil and electronic firms that jumped into energy alternatives in the '70s—often buying up fledgling companies—abandoned the field.

While many smaller U.S. firms tried to persevere, they often had too little capital—and no long-term financial backing—to see them through rocky periods. At the same time, their overseas competitors flourished. According to Worldwatch Institute Vice President Christopher Flavin, alternative-energy producers overseas are likely to be deep-pocket corporations with strategic government support. Governments and corporations in Japan and several European countries—most notably Germany and those in Scandinavia—have grabbed their domestic markets, taken a growing share of the U.S. market and have established footholds for the future in developing countries. Also, Japanese and European firms have been buying up or investing in the remaining U.S. companies devoted to alternative energy.

Missed opportunity: Take the case of photovoltaic cells, which make electricity directly from sunlight. Invented in the U.S. in 1954 and first produced for the space

program, photovoltaic cells are now cheap enough to compete with diesel engines for producing electricity independent of central power-station grids. In 1980, U.S. companies produced 75 percent of all photovoltaics, while the Japanese produced 15 percent. In 1988, the U.S. share was 32 percent, the Japanese 37 percent.

Last year the West German electronics giant Siemens bought Arco Solar, an Arco subsidiary purchased during the alternative-energy boom in the '70s. Arco Solar, the world's leading producer of photovoltaics, made half of all U.S. solar cells last year. Arco went heavily into debt in 1985 to fend off a hostile takeover bid and then had to cut staff and sell assets to pay for its defense. After spending \$200 million over 12 years developing its solar business, Arco followed General Electric, Kodak, Martin Marietta, Exxon, Honeywell and Sohio in dropping out of the photovoltaic race. "Photovoltaics has the potential to emerge as a premier growth industry by the turn of the century," the Investor Responsibility Research Center (IRRC) reported in its 1989 study, *Power Plays*. But, the study warned, "U.S. private investment in photovoltaics may dry up just as the technology is reaching commercial fruition, leaving the market to foreign competitors."

The Solar Energy Industries Association issued a similar warning to the U.S. Department of Energy. Association Director Scott Sklar last year told the department that while the Reagan administration practiced benign neglect of solar and renewable energies, "our international competitors aggressively stepped in to such an extent that the U.S. may import all of its solar-energy technologies by the year 2000 and lose our world markets as well."

Renewable-energy technologies now account for nearly one-tenth of U.S. energy—more than nuclear power—and the U.S. uses more photovoltaic, solar, steam, wind and geothermal power than any other country, Sklar says. But despite having the world's largest renewable/efficiency market, the products are rarely manufactured in the U.S. Danish companies, with government aid, emphasized commercialization of simple alternative-energy technology early on and captured much of the infant U.S. wind-generation industry. U.S. aerospace companies used Carter-era money for exotic, large-scale wind demonstration projects that have since been abandoned or remain uncommercial. IRRC reported last year that "few American manufacturers are left in the wind industry." While some wind turbines are designed in the U.S. and manufactured in Hong Kong or China, big Japanese, British and other European companies "are becoming much more prominent," IRRC observed.

Waste not, want not: But even more than solar energy and other renewables, energy efficiency offers the greatest potential to cut fossil-fuel use. Japan, Germany and Sweden use only 50 to 60 percent as much energy as the U.S. per dollar of GNP. In a projection consistent with other studies, the World Resource Institute estimated in a 1987 report that all industrialized countries could cut per capita energy use in half by the year 2020 while significantly improving standards of living. It is often far cheaper to save a unit of energy than to produce it, especially since efficiency brings the bonus of reduced environmental degradation.

Few industrialized countries or corporations consistently pursue wise energy efficiency strategies. But Alden Meyer, energy and climate director of the Union of Concerned Scientists, says that Japanese and European businesses look at environmental problems, especially the greenhouse effect, "as an opportunity to develop market share in energy technology and renewables, but American companies [especially large corporations] tend to look at them as another cost or regulatory burden of government."

In the '70s, scientists from Lawrence Berkeley Laboratories at the University of California developed a new high-frequency ballast for fluorescent lights that made possible compact fluorescent bulbs. The bulbs

screw into incandescent sockets but deliver the equivalent of a 60-watt bulb with 11 watts of energy. California physics professor Art Rosenfeld, director of the Lawrence building science center, says that when scientists wanted to promote the technology in the U.S., "The big companies all said, 'No, that's too high-tech. If small companies fail, they fail. If they succeed, we'll buy them out.'" Instead, Phillips and Osram in Europe, and Panasonic, Toshiba and others in Japan developed the compact bulbs and took the lead in sales in the U.S. as well as their home markets. General Electric belatedly entered the field and even now markets its compact fluorescents only to commercial and industrial users.

U.S. auto manufacturers made progress during the past decade because of mandatory fuel-efficiency standards, nearly doubling the average auto efficiency. Now the average efficiency of all cars sold in the U.S.—28 miles per gallon—is almost equal to Japan and only slightly behind Europe. But Reagan rolled back both the standards and progress. Now Japanese and European manufacturers have four- to five-passenger prototype cars that get 80 to 100 miles per gallon. They also have begun introducing new efficiency technologies—like variable-speed transmissions and multivalve engines—and have other innovations ready to roll. "In terms of ability to compete in new fuel economies, Japan is at 10, Europe at seven and the U.S. at three to four," says Deborah Bleviss, executive director of the International Institute for Energy Conservation.

Although Japanese and European companies have not deeply penetrated the U.S. household-appliance market, "there's definitely a threat there," says Marc Ledbetter of the American Council for an Energy Efficient Economy. Many compressors used in "U.S." refrigerators and air conditioners now come from Japan or Brazil, in large part because of their superior efficiency.

INSIDE STORY

Try, try again: But the battle isn't lost. Larry Sherwood, director of the American Solar Energy Society, says the U.S. photovoltaic industry may still have a slim technological edge. Small U.S. companies have also taken a lead in using window coatings developed at the University of California to reduce energy loss. Ironically, the leverage that consumer and environmental advocates have with electric utilities in the U.S. compared with centralized national power systems in other countries has opened up new efficiency strategies and competition by renewable-energy suppliers.

But the public investments of the late '70s have now been exhausted and plans for renewable-energy projects are dropping sharply. Progress in efficiency is hit or miss. New federal consumer-appliance standards now being developed will help, but auto standards must be raised. Since the market price of fossil fuels does not reflect costs to the environment or the long-term depletion of natural capital, enacting a carbon tax on fuels and raising gasoline taxes may provide some incentive to practice efficiency and find alternatives. Yet Rocky Mountain Institute researcher Michael Shepard insists "standards are a much more effective way of getting the job done than relying on the market." If new taxes were used to fund mass transit, renewables and efficiency, their regressive harm to the poor would be reduced and their effect on energy use and the environment boosted.

Even modest government aid would make a tremendous difference. A coalition of pro-renewable-energy groups recently proposed that the federal government roughly triple its funding of \$113 million annually, with more emphasis on domestic production and commercial viability. Bush's new fiscal year 1991 budget includes increased spending for photovoltaic and biofuel research but cuts spending in conservation research for a tiny net increase. What is really needed is not just more money but a coherent, comprehensive policy push at all levels toward energy efficiency and safe, renewable energy supplies. □

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VOODOO TIME.

One thousand more points of rhetoric

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

THIS YEAR'S BUDGET FEATURES A LONG introduction that draws upon the latest forward-sounding buzzwords and slogans circulating around the capital. For instance, section four is entitled "Advancing States as Laboratories." It begins with a quotation from progressive Louis Brandeis about states being "laboratories of democracy"—a quotation popularized by David Osborne's influential 1988 book of the same name.

But the very first state democratic initiative that the Bush administration cites is *toll roads*. "While certainly not a new phenomenon in the United States, toll roads are now experiencing a resurgence in popularity," the budget declares.

As this example suggests, the only thing progressive about the Bush administration's budget is its rhetoric. Its budget for fiscal year 1991 represents a continuation of the Reagan administration's policy of increasing military expenditures and reducing social expenditures—at a time when exactly the opposite priorities are appropriate. Almost everything that appears positive in the budget—from the nominal reduction in military expenditures to the increase in Head Start funds—is based on a canard. This budget has no redeeming social or literary value whatsoever.

More missiles and subs: At a time when the Soviet threat has completely dissipated, the Bush administration wants to increase military outlays by \$12 billion—\$1.8 billion when inflation is taken into account. The administration's claim that it is reducing military spending by \$3.2 billion is based on \$2.7 billion of accounting changes and \$2.3 billion of purported management efficiencies—precisely the kind of savings that do not really exist or will never materialize.

The most significant budget cut is a

38,000-person reduction in active duty forces, but this pales in comparison to the projected 500,000-person reduction by the Soviet forces and 1.5 million-person reduction by the Eastern European countries. The Bush budget retains and increases funding

This budget has no redeeming social or literary value whatsoever.

for all the new major weapons systems, including the following:

- a 65 percent increase in funding for the MX missile;
- a 47 percent increase for the Cruise missile;
- a 29 percent increase for the B-2 bomber;
- a 14 percent increase for the Trident submarine;
- a 5 percent increase for the Trident II missile; and
- a 22 percent increase for the Strategic Defense Initiative.

These programs alone total \$17.1 billion, or 94 percent of the federal spending on natural resources and the environment, 103 percent of federal spending on science, space and technology, and 34 percent of all federal discretionary spending for lower-income Americans.

Fewer school lunches: The administration proposes increasing education funding by \$4 billion—about \$700 million in real dollars. This amounts to a 1.8 percent increase, but on close inspection even this increase is an illusion.

For instance, the single largest increase is \$500 million in new funds for Head Start, the program that helps prepare low-income four-year-olds for school. But in another part of the budget, the administration proposes eliminating \$390 million in community-ser-

vices block grants. These grants help fund the agencies that run 35 percent of the Head Start programs.

The budget is full of similar sleights of hand. For instance, it proposes a new tax credit for child-care expenses but it cuts child-nutrition programs—which subsidize child-care centers—by \$242 million.

Like the Reagan budgets, Bush's concentrates its cuts on low-income households. According to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, the Bush budget would reduce funding for low-income households by \$2 billion, including cuts in low-income heating assistance and housing, and funds for dislocated workers—which would be cut a whopping 46 percent.

Although the budget's theme is "investing in the future," its proposals ignore present deterioration. Spending on public works, the environment and transportation would be slashed. Funding for clean-water treatment facilities would be reduced by 17.9 percent. Mass transit funds would be cut 19.8 percent, and AMTRAK funding would be eliminated.

While some research programs get in-

creases—for instance, a 28 percent increase in spending on robotics—overall spending on research and development would go down. Spending on advanced-technology research would total \$1.5 billion—about the cost of building the 18th Trident submarine.

As usual, many of the spending cuts and increases in the budget appear politically motivated. Military base closings are concentrated in Democratic districts—three, for instance, in the solidly Democratic Bay Area. By contrast, increases in research and high-technology spending are concentrated in the Republican Sunbelt. For instance, only 18 percent of the \$2.8 billion increase for Texas-based NASA would accrue to states in the Northeast and Midwest.

The rich get richer: Having cut programs for the poor, the Bush budget proposes increasing income for the rich. It includes a proposal for an approximate 30 percent reduction in the capital-gains tax rate. Eighty percent of the savings from this tax cut would go to people with incomes of more than \$100,000 a year, or the top 1 percent of Americans.

Last year some Democrats attacked Bush's capital-gains proposal because it would encourage the short-term sale of assets, making it less likely that industries would undertake long-term investments. Bush's new proposal ostensibly meets this objection by introducing graduated reductions in the tax cut—the tax rate would fall from 33 to 19.6 percent for investments held for three years, but only to 25.2 percent for investments held a year.

There is, however, a catch. In order to prevent a short-term drain on the Treasury that would come from people holding rather than selling their capital, the Bush administration would phase in the plan gradually. Thus people selling their holdings this year, even after being held only one year, would enjoy the same tax cut as those who plan to hold their investments for three years. This would increase the incentive for investors to dump everything they have as quickly as possible.

Is there anything to be lauded in this year's budget? Well, there is no money budgeted for the contras, there is a new user fee proposed for futures trading, and Sematech, the computer-chip-making consortium in Austin, Texas, got its \$100 million in spite of opposition from the White House. But these are scant consolations. At a time when sea changes in American government priorities are both necessary and possible, the Bush administration is just treading water. □

Mum's the word on some awkward social issues

Besides President George Bush's proposal to reduce American troops in continental Europe to 195,000, what was noteworthy in his January 31 State of the Union Address and in the Democratic response by House Speaker Tom Foley (D-WA) was what was not said. Bush did not mention any of the New Right social issues—from abortion to school prayer—that have been the staple of presidential addresses since 1981. And Foley did not mention New York Democratic Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan's proposal to cut Social Security payroll tax rates by 15 percent.

There is a perverse relationship be-

tween these two omissions. By ignoring abortion et al., Bush is taking for granted support of evangelical Protestants who moved into the Republican Party in the late '70s and early '80s because of social issues but who remain economic populists on trade, taxes and social spending. Foley and the Democrats, by not counterposing Moynihan's proposal to cut working people's taxes to Bush's proposal to cut the wealthy's capital-gain taxes, are forgoing the opportunity to win back these and other voters. Bush has decided which side of the class divide he represents. The Democrats now have to decide which side they are on. J.B.J.

By Joel Bleifuss

So loud, so rude, so ill-mannered

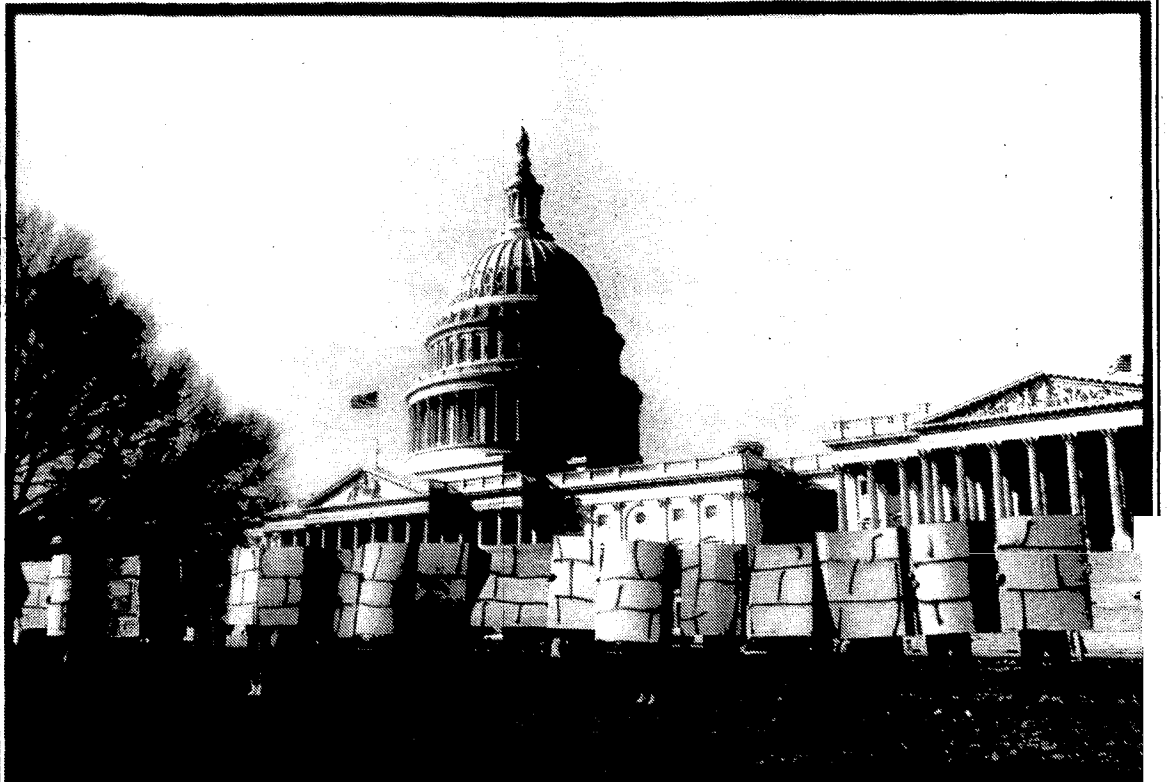
In 1965 George Bush, who had recently lost his bid to become a Lone Star senator, debated the *Texas Observer's* Ronnie Dugger on the subject of civil disobedience and the Vietnam War. Bush said in part: "I admit that I simply don't understand the far left in this country. ... They want us to let the South Vietnamese go down the drain, taking with them Southeast Asia's last hope for freedom. ... Many conservatives winced during 1964 as we were labeled extremists of the right. And certainly, we were embarrassed by the booing of Nelson Rockefeller at the convention and some of the comments that referred to the smell of fascism in the air at the Republican convention. ... But now we're getting a little pleasure. Because now comes the extremist of the left and, parenthetically, he is worse, for his politics often encompass doctrines which are subversive or disloyal. ... A State Department representative at Iowa State [in Ames] was rudely denied the chance to present the government's position—the word 'fascist' filling the air in that hall. ... I think it is a dirty shame when the administration feels any obligation at all to have to go around the country explaining its position to this rude and loud minority. ... And it's a shame that this rude and loud minority seems to have had its birth in the totally honorable great tradition for protection of civil rights in America. ... I am for our position in Vietnam and opposed to those who would pull out and hand Southeast Asia to the communists. ... As to Thoreau, I think he'd go limp himself in protest if he could see the organized band of lawbreakers who fly his banner as they break the laws of our country, abuse our concept of freedom of speech and do it all in such an ill-mannered way."

Loud, rude, ill-mannered habits

Now, 25 years later, it's the same Bush, but a different war. Last November, a few days after the six Jesuits were murdered in San Salvador, the president stopped off in Chicago to drum up money for Rep. Lynn Martin's (D-IL) bid to oust Sen. Paul Simon (D-IL). His fundraising speech was interrupted by three heckling nuns, including Sister Dorothy Pegosa, who shouted, "Why are we killing priests in El Salvador?" Bush answered, "We're not. Now you be quiet and hear the answer to your question. ... We're supporting El Salvador because it had certifiably free elections. Let me just say a word about El Salvador and maybe it will help. It was the FMLN—the Marxist-Leninist FMLN—that shot its way into the middle of El Salvador trying to disrupt El Salvador's democracy. And President Cristiani told me on the phone that they will do everything they can to bring to justice—whether they are from the right or the left—those who wantonly murdered those priests." In the wake of the ruckus, Martin, with unintended ingenuity, remarked, "I kept thinking that if someone [protested like] that in El Salvador, they would have disappeared forever."

Coffee clash

This week Neighbor to Neighbor announced that it will target Folgers in its ongoing boycott of Salvadoran coffee. The San Francisco-based peace group initiated the boycott last November in response to the Salvadoran army's slaughter of the six priests. At the time Neighbor to Neighbor called on U.S. coffee distributors to stop buying the Salvadoran cash crop. Almost all coffee sold in the U.S., except that which is advertised as pure Colombian, consists of a blend that includes beans from El Salvador. Procter & Gamble, maker of Folgers, has flatly refused to honor the boycott. Neighbor to Neighbor spokesman Glen Schneider said Folgers officials told his group that "the company's policy is to follow U.S. policy." Initially the boycott appeared somewhat successful: on December 8, Hills Brothers, the third-largest U.S. coffee concern, announced that it would suspend purchases of Salvadoran coffee for "30 days while it studie[d] the political situation." And on December 11, Nestlé Foods Corporation, maker of Taster's Choice and the parent company of Hills Brothers, announced it too would suspend purchases for 30 days. As Nestlé spokeswoman Barbara Campbell said in a letter to Neighbor to Neighbor, "Nestlé Foods disapproves of the violence in El Salvador because it is a violation of human rights." What happened next was related by Rob Everts, Neighbor to Neighbor's New England director: "From the time Nestlé made that announcement, things got very interesting. Nestlé began backtracking. The State Department weighed in and began pressuring Nestlé directly, telling them that they would be supporting the FMLN communists if they honored the boycott and that it was against State Department policy." So,



Members of ArtFBI and the Coalition of Washington Artists erect an "Iron Curtain: A Wall of Conscience" January 30 on the Capitol lawn. The groups gathered to protest a proposal to cut federal funding for art that has been deemed "obscene, including sadomasochism, homoeroticism, the sexual exploitation of children or individuals engaged in sex acts."

Quayle has little luck in Latin America

TEGUCIGALPA, HONDURAS—Amid the ceremonial splendor of the January 27 inauguration of new Honduran President Rafael Callejas, Vice President Dan Quayle sought to smooth over some of the resentment lingering in Latin America over the U.S. invasion of Panama.

For the most part he succeeded only in explaining the U.S. position on the matter and asserting that Panama had not been a setback for the "good relations we've long had with friends." With the exception of El Salvador's Alfredo Cristiani, various Latin American leaders present at the ceremony reiterated their opposition to the U.S. action and stressed the need for the prompt withdrawal of U.S. forces still in Panama.

This message came loudest and clearest from Venezuela's President Carlos Andres Perez, long a fervent promoter of the larger Latin American *patria*, or homeland, who viewed the Panama invasion as a regression to old-style "big stick" diplomacy.

Although Perez had said he did not intend to be "confrontational" with the conservative U.S. vice president, the Venezuelan abruptly left a 45-minute talk with Quayle and departed for home refusing to answer any questions. During the conversation Perez could be seen gesturing to the U.S. leader, apparently trying to impress a point on the youthful Quayle.

The scene seemed to symbolized the political and cultural gulf that continues to separate the U.S. from its southern neighbors: a young ideologue showing scant knowledge about Latin America but yielding considerable power due to his position in the company of an experienced statesman.

Perez is perhaps the most widely respected leader in the region, the primary force behind the "Group of Eight" nations, which is striving to resolve regional conflicts without U.S. interference.

Quayle had been scheduled to visit Venezuela and Mexico as part of a larger trip through the region, but both Caracas and Mexico City sent signals northward prompting the Bush administration to scale the

trip back to include only Honduras, Panama and Jamaica.

In Honduras Quayle also met with Callejas, who said he would seek to promote his own brand of "Latin Americanism" and called for a more equitable world international economic order. Callejas is a 46-year-old businessman who will be forced to direct most of his attention to economics, given that Honduras is now caught up in a serious economic crisis that, among other things, has led to a critical fuel shortage.

Costa Rican President Oscar Arias, after his own meeting with Quayle, mentioned that the vice president appeared to be relatively unaware of Latin American views or regional concerns such as the impact of falling coffee prices on local economies but noted that the Tegucigalpa event "helped him understand things better." Arias is one of the few regional leaders to not only recognize the new Panamanian government but to have received Panamanian President Guillermo Endara on a state visit.

Both he and Guatemala's Vinicio Cerezo strongly urged the U.S. to pull the remaining troops out of Panama.

as quickly as possible.

Prepared for this, Quayle said the 20,000-plus U.S. forces still in Panama would be withdrawn in a matter of weeks rather than months. But in Panama after the Honduran visit, Quayle affirmed that the troops

It's back to the future for New York's gay community

NEW YORK—The Big Apple must seem like a cold place to new city Health Commissioner Woodrow Myers Jr.

When Mayor David Dinkins announced last month that the former Indiana health commissioner would be moving to New York, he did so to the angry chants of some 300 gay and AIDS activists. Myers' appointment followed a week of disclosures concerning his controversial AIDS policies in Indiana and left many in the gay and AIDS communities feeling betrayed and angry.

Since taking Indiana's top health post in 1986, Myers has been under attack by civil liberties organizations and AIDS groups for his support of so-called "isolation techniques" for people with AIDS as well as mandatory contact tracing and name reporting of those who test positive for the HIV virus.

He has also been charged with ineptitude in dispersing federal funds for AIDS prevention and treatment programs in Indiana, a state that fails to provide any of its own money to fight the deadly virus. In 1989 Indiana lost at least \$75,000 in federal funding simply by not spending the money, according to Marla Stevens, chairperson of the Gay and Lesbian

"would only leave when circumstances permit." That may be some time, given that security in Panama is still primarily in the hands of the Americans while a new Panamanian "public force" is being trained. Made up of remnants of deposed Gen.

Task Force of the Indiana Civil Liberties Union.

Many New York AIDS activists are also unsettled by what Gabriel Rotello, editor of New York's lesbian and gay weekly *OutWeek*, called the "seeming untruthfulness" of Myers' response to questions about AIDS policy. Although two people are known to have been detained under the recalcitrant-carrier provision of an Indiana law allowing state health officials to incarcerate HIV carriers they believe are practicing unsafe sex, Myers, at a recent press conference, denied the use of quarantine in Indiana.

Although Myers says he has been misrepresented on a number of issues, he has failed to elaborate his plans to combat AIDS in the city with the highest number of people with the disease in the U.S. His refusal to rule out the use of quarantine and name reporting and his recent statement in the *New York Post* that "there are occasions when it is important to use isolation techniques" have left many people fearing the worst. Although Mayor Dinkins does not support such policies and Myers has said he supports Dinkins "one thousand percent," AIDS activists do not feel placated.

Because of Myers' appointment, the new mayor has come under intense criticism from a gay community that feels betrayed after playing a crucial role in his election victory. Although Dinkins promised he

in incinerators and spread in the form of radioactive sludge on farmlands. The EPA has also included the BRC deregulation policy in its proposed radioactive-waste dump standards.

The deregulation plan does not provide for notification of haulers, waste handlers or other workers. Several unions have opposed the plan. When the proposal surfaced several years ago, the United Steelworkers of America stopped recycling radioactive metal. In addition, there will be no monitoring once the waste leaves the nuclear power-plant site and communities will not be informed that they are receiving radioactive waste.

The major rationale behind deregulation is to save nuclear power-plant owners money. The EPA estimates that the industry's disposal costs will be reduced by \$620 million over the next 20 years if one-third of the waste is deregulated. The EPA also notes the human cost—one death per 10,000 people exposed to deregulated waste.

The Illinois Department of Nuclear Safety has severely criticized the EPA for its proposed exposure levels. "Any level of exposure to deregulated nuclear waste is too much,

Manuel Antonio Noriega's armed forces, the police face an uphill battle for legitimacy, even as an increasing crime wave underscores the problems the new government faces in trying to establish itself.

—William Gasperini

would not appoint a commissioner over the objections of AIDS researcher Dr. Mathilde Krim, a member of the search committee, he did so anyway. Dinkins also promised he would not appoint a commissioner who did not share his views on testing, quarantine and contact tracing—which seemingly should have disqualified Myers from the running.

As for Myers, he has been accused of being everything from merely "insensitive" to "homophobic." Yet even his opponents are careful to point out what positive contributions he has made toward combatting AIDS. Stevens of the Indiana Civil Liberties Union says, "He has shown good leadership in demanding that physicians treat all of their patients"—HIV-positive people included. She also says Myers worked hard to get children with AIDS, such as Ryan White, back into Indiana public schools. Stevens further notes that Myers' public resignation as co-chair of former President Ronald Reagan's presidential HIV commission helped to turn the panel from an ineffective body into a productive force.

Still, for a community that feels it managed to exist under an adversarial relationship with former Mayor Ed Koch and his health commissioner, Stephen Joseph, the appointment of Myers is, in the words of Rotello, the realization that "our worst nightmare is already here."

—Lauren Comiteau

because there is no plan to verify or enforce that the level won't be exceeded," says Michael Mariotte, director of the Nuclear Information and Resource Service. "There is no safe level of exposure to radiation, so waste should be isolated for as long as it remains hazardous."

Some of the waste that could be deregulated—including irradiated piping, sewage sludge, sandblasting grit, soils, oils, resins and evaporator bottoms from filtering radioactive water—could remain hazardous for centuries. If the material is burnable, it could be incinerated. If it's water soluble, it could go down the drain. Solid waste could go to landfills, and recyclable metals could be melted down for reuse.

Several important questions remain unanswered: why add radioactive waste to already crowded landfills? How will the public know when and where radioactive waste is being burned or dumped? How will abuses, such as dumping more radioactive waste than permitted, be prevented?

For more information on BRC waste, contact the Nuclear Information and Resource Service at (202) 328-0002, 1424 16th St. NW, Suite 601, Washington, DC 20036.

—Leigh Hauter & Diane D'Arrigo

after 30 days of studying the situation—during which time the State Department taught both Nestlé and Hills Brothers a valuable lesson—both companies resumed purchases of Salvadoran coffee.

Boycott burgeons: In December, the Tufts University student senate voted 30 to 4 to remove Salvadoran coffee from campus. Students at Columbia University, Fordham University, Loyola University at New Orleans, among others, are considering similar bans. San Francisco, Los Angeles, Boston and Chicago are among the cities that have boycott resolutions and/or legislation on their city-council agendas. And the Arab-American Grocers Association plans to send out a letter asking its members not to stock Hills Brothers, Folgers and Nestlé brand coffees. Further, the West Coast-based, left-leaning International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union has threatened not to unload Salvadoran coffee. Consequently, coffee importers are rerouting Salvadoran beans to friendlier ports in the Gulf of Mexico and in New York City. The National Union of Salvadoran Workers has also endorsed the boycott. Humberto Centeno of the union's executive committee recently wrote Neighbor to Neighbor, saying the boycott was "fitting and of great importance." He explained, "Coffee is the principle income-generating product of El Salvador, but this income does not help the great majority of the Salvadoran people. It is solely for the benefit of the coffee oligarchs who oppose a political solution to the war and use part of their coffee profits to maintain the death squads." Which brings to mind El Salvador's ambassador to the U.S., Miguel Angel Salaverria.

Conflicted interests: Ambassador Salaverria does not think a Salvadoran coffee boycott is such a good idea. Earlier this month he wrote a letter to the *New York Times* that read in part: "Who would be helped by a boycott of Salvadoran coffee and who would be hurt? ... Boycotting coffee from El Salvador will hurt the people who depend on the commodity for their livelihood and appear aimed at further damaging the economy of El Salvador, a nation with a duly elected democratic government that is struggling against the tyranny of fanatical extremists." One person who depends on coffee for his livelihood is Salaverria. His family, prominent among El Salvador's rural oligarchy, grows and exports coffee. Salaverria is the past president of the Coffee Processors Association, the National Association for Private Enterprise and Preito Hermanos, a major Salvadoran company that specializes in coffee and cattle, among other things. In 1973-74, Preito Hermanos exported 22 million pounds of coffee. In June 1988, Salaverria was interviewed by Martin Diskin, a Massachusetts Institute of Technology anthropologist who was researching rural development in El Salvador.

Death-squad patriots: Diskin told *In These Times* the following story: "I went to talk to the rural development director of U.S. AID [Agency for International Development] in San Salvador. He said, 'If you want to speak to a responsible, thoughtful, philosophical conservative, talk to Miguel Salaverria.' I interviewed Salaverria in his home/office complex in one of the exclusive San Salvador neighborhoods that the FMLN recently overran. There were armed guards at the gate and video monitors. Like many other oligarchs, he has a view that the country's troubles are caused by communists encouraged by weak Christian Democratic reformists, whom he despises. At [the time of the interview] ARENA had just won municipal and assembly elections and was favored to win the 1989 presidential election. I asked him to offer his opinion on what kind of appeal ARENA would have in light of its association with the death squads. He said, 'Everybody seems to focus on Major [Roberto] D'Aubuisson, but they never have been able to prove anything.' I again brought up the death squads and pressed him on the subject. He finally said, 'The people who did those things were patriots, and if not for them we would have a communist country today.' He made no mention that they might have gone too far or that their activities were inhumane. He simply said they were patriots."

Out in orbit

As head of the U.S. National Space Council, Vice President Dan Quayle has a lot of territory to cover, not to mention a few voids to fill. In an interview with Cable News Network last year, Quayle explained why the U.S. should send a man to Mars this way: "Mars is essentially in the same orbit. Mars is somewhat the same distance from the sun, which is very important. We have seen pictures where there are canals, we believe, and water. If there is water, there is oxygen. If oxygen, that means we can breathe."

"Low level" radioactive waste not worthy of concern

WASHINGTON, DC—Radioactive waste could soon join the old tires, banana peels and coffee grounds in America's landfills if the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) go through with a policy treating nuclear waste as though it were not radioactive.

The NRC in 1986 developed a policy called Below Regulatory Concern (BRC) for deregulating radioactive waste. Although the policy has not yet been implemented, an application for implementation is expected this spring from the Nuclear Utilities Management and Resource Council.

Once the application is approved, more than 30 percent of the nation's currently regulated "low level" nuclear power-plant waste could be dumped as ordinary non-nuclear trash. Under the BRC label, loads of radioactive waste would travel with regular garbage on highways, railways and rivers and could be emptied in landfills and sewers, burned

By Salim Muwakkil

AFTER BEING ACCUSED OF "PROMOTING A culture of cancer" by the nation's top health official, the R.J. Reynolds tobacco company recently canceled a new cigarette brand designed to appeal to black smokers. The tobacco company, which had planned to begin test-marketing the new Uptown brand cigarettes in Philadelphia last month, had already come under fire from various black groups for the race-specific character of its ad campaign. But until Dr. Louis Sullivan, secretary of Health and Human Services (HHS), delivered his blistering attack on the company's "slick and sinister" campaign, Reynolds had aggressively justified its decision to aim Uptown at African-Americans.

The episode marks a departure both in the way tobacco companies and Cabinet chiefs conduct business. But more importantly, it signifies a new attitude of urgency

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on issues of health in the black community. Statistics on the health of African-Americans continue to tell a grim tale. In the view of some observers, in fact, black America currently is in the midst of a health-care emergency, and a major reason for that emergency is the disproportionate consumption of cigarettes and alcohol.

Sinister ads: Cigarette manufacturers historically have denied they targeted specific groups in their marketing campaigns. With the Uptown campaign, however, Reynolds made explicit its intention to attract black smokers. The product's packaging, name and menthol flavoring were chosen after Reynolds had conducted consumer tests among black smokers. This elaborate marketing effort reportedly infuriated Sullivan who, as the Bush administration's lone African-American Cabinet officer, has focused much of his efforts on minority health issues.

Sullivan launched his attack on Reynolds during a speech in Philadelphia just weeks before the scheduled test-marketing campaign, charging the company with using "slick and sinister advertising" for its explicit focus on African-Americans. "At a time when our people desperately need the message of health promotion, Uptown's message is

"We must resist the unworthy efforts of the tobacco merchants to earn profits at the expense and well-being of our poor and minority citizens. This tradeoff between profits and good health must stop."

more disease, more suffering and more death for a group already bearing more than its share of smoking-related illness and mortality," he said.

Never before has an HHS secretary leveled such a specific attack, and seldom has it been done more passionately. "We must re-

Uptown cigarettes promote downtown health problems



sist the unworthy efforts of the tobacco merchants to earn profits at the expense of the health and well-being of our poor and minority citizens," he said. "This tradeoff between profits and good health must stop. And it will stop if, around the country, our citizens rise up and say, 'Enough—no more.'"

Some citizens, however, wish Sullivan would say no more. A representative for a collection of African-American publications explained that Reynolds' Uptown ad campaign would have been a "small bonanza for a lot of ad-poor black publications." The representative, who insisted on anonymity, said Sullivan's action punishes black publications that already get a minuscule percentage of the available advertising dollar.

Beverly Coley-Morris, former regional advertising manager with Amalgamated Publishers, Inc., a group that represents 88 black newspapers, said that ads for cigarettes and alcohol—the so-called vice ads—comprise the bulk of the group's revenue. "When Philip Morris [Companies] introduced Players cigarettes a few years ago, we received close to \$1 million in additional revenue. Tobacco

ads alone make up more than 50 percent of our ad revenues," she said.

Cigarette—and alcohol—companies also are involved in many philanthropic endeavors aimed at the black community—sponsoring sporting events, awards dinners, entertainment affairs and many other activities. In addition, their contributions to black civic organizations are lavish compared to those of other companies; in fact, in many ways these companies are excellent examples of how other industries could better assist black economic development.

Those endeavors have led to a troubling situation, however. "Many black civil and philanthropic groups have become addicted to the largess of alcohol and tobacco producers," states a recent report by the Washington, D.C.-based Center for Science in the Public Interest. "Alcohol producers, who have skillfully hidden a political and marketing strategy behind a facade of social conscience, have rendered many esteemed black organizations silent in the face of alcohol problems that threaten the black community." The report also charged that black pub-

lications have done little to alert their readers to risks associated with alcohol and tobacco use.

Sullivan's unprecedented activity was prompted by the urgings of many black groups that interpreted Reynolds' Uptown campaign as a murderous slap in the face of the African-American community. Rev. Jesse Brown, president of the Coalition Against Uptown Cigarettes, a Philadelphia group formed to counter Reynolds' test-marketing strategy, likened the plan to a genocidal plot. Brown credits his coalition for Reynolds' decision to cancel the plan, and he hinted the group would form a national coalition to counter tobacco propaganda.

Harlem, Bangladesh: The Uptown episode indicates an increasing focus on the black community's health problems and their behavioral underpinnings. Concern was heightened recently by several reports detailing African-Americans' deteriorating condition of health. In a 1988 study, the National Center for Health Statistics revealed that black life expectancy had actually gone down for two consecutive years, a historical first.

Even more alarming was a recent study published in the January 17 edition of the *New England Journal of Medicine* that found that black men in the Harlem section of New York City are less likely to reach the age of 40 than are men in Bangladesh. "Harlem and probably other inner-city areas with largely black populations have extremely high mortality rates that justify special consideration analogous to that given to natural-disaster areas," wrote Drs. Colin McCord and Harold P. Freeman, both of whom practice at Harlem Hospital in addition to serving on the medical faculty of Columbia University.

They urged a national effort to combat the current state of health, saying the campaign should begin "with intensive education campaigns" to improve nutrition, fight alcohol and drug abuse and reduce smoking.

The study's data revealed that the causes of Harlem's "excess deaths"—the number above the national average for whites—were, in order of importance, cardiovascular disease, cirrhosis of the liver and homicide. These "killers" are directly promoted and aggravated by tobacco and alcohol consumption.

For African-Americans as a group, the leading causes of excess deaths are cardiovascular disease, homicides, infant mortality, cancer, cirrhosis and diabetes, according to the HHS report on "Black and Minority Health." "If we were to be suitably analytical, we could see that virtually every cause ... would be linked to abuse of tobacco or alcohol," said Peter Bell, executive director of the Minnesota Institute on Black Chemical Abuse. His group is leading the struggle to place this issue near the top of the black agenda, where it belongs.

Despite the manifest damage done by tobacco and alcohol, black leaders, with few exceptions, have shied away from this issue. And their reticence is clearly encouraged by the generous contributions they receive from the tobacco and alcohol industries. But lately the subject has come out of the closet and is appearing as an agenda item at a growing number of black conferences. Perhaps Reynolds' crass and insensitive attempt to create more black nicotine addicts has awakened African-American leadership from its ethical slumber. □

By Maggie Garb

LAST MAY A ROCKFORD, ILL., PROSECUTOR filed criminal charges against a 24-year-old woman after her newborn daughter died of complications attributed to the mother's drug use during her pregnancy. Arguing that the woman's actions constituted an assault on the fetus, the prosecutor charged her with involuntary manslaughter.

Although a grand jury later refused to indict the woman, the case inflamed a legal debate that has long simmered behind other more prominent issues concerning women's rights. Now as the battle over abortion rights heats up, spotlighting the tenuous structure surrounding a woman's right to bodily autonomy, this new push for laws that could regulate prenatal behavior strikes at that structure's already crumbling foundation.

The Illinois woman was one of at least 10 others who were prosecuted last year for using cocaine, heroin or alcohol during pregnancy. In the only conviction resulting from these cases, a 23-year-old Florida woman was given 14 to 25 years probation, during which she must report any pregnancy to law enforcement officials. In another case, a Washington, D.C., woman convicted of burglary for writing bad checks was incarcerated during the final months of her pregnancy after she tested positive for cocaine. The judge in that case wrote that the prison term—the woman was to be held in jail until she gave birth—would ensure that she could not use drugs during the rest of her pregnancy. But some legal experts agreed that the sentence was unusually harsh for the offense.

In the wake of these cases, complex moral and legal issues have emerged, sometimes pitting children's and women's rights advocates against each other. The cases raise questions about the responsibility of a woman to care for herself during pregnancy, the power of the state to intervene in a woman's life and the balance of rights between a woman and her fetus. Physicians and researchers now know that poor health care or drug or alcohol use during pregnancy can be detrimental to the fetus, sometimes causing serious, often permanent handicaps. Yet the unique relationship between a woman and a fetus developing inside of her spawns a murky moral swamp not easily cleared.

A garden of versus: Fetal rights, a term long used by anti-abortion activists, has become a rallying cry for those prosecutors intent on protecting the unborn from the mother's so-called dangerous behavior. But while anti-abortionists want the courts to grant fetuses the rights of personhood from conception, and, by extension, to criminalize abortion, many prosecutors are choosing to focus simply on what they call "a child's right to be born healthy." Rather than arguing against abortion, these prosecutors claim that, since abortion is legal, a woman who chooses to carry her pregnancy to term has an obligation to care for her fetus and to give birth to a healthy child. The legal foundation for such arguments is not clear, and many people who oppose taking criminal action against pregnant women who use drugs accuse prosecutors of basing their claims on moral rather than legal grounds.

Over the past six months several prosecutors and legislators from around the country have announced they will seek new laws to handle cases involving drug use during pregnancy. Several states have moved to include fetal abuse in their child-abuse statutes. In

Must a woman battle her fetus and the court for autonomy and civil rights?

Illinois, Winnebago County prosecutor Paul Longli has written a legislative proposal that would create a new charge called "conduct injurious to a newborn," a class-four felony carrying a one- to three-year prison term. The proposed law is expected to be introduced in the Illinois legislature this spring. Under the proposal—similar to legislation being discussed in Florida, Minnesota and

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California—any woman found to have used drugs after her first 12 weeks of pregnancy could be prosecuted. However, she would be exempt from prosecution if she sought drug-abuse treatment during the first trimester.

Longli, the prosecutor in charge of the Rockford, Ill., case, believes such laws will deter drug use by pregnant women. The intent of an adult criminal prosecution would be "to affix responsibility with the mother and to appropriately punish her," he says.

Longli's method, however, has drawn much criticism from women's rights advocates, lawyers and health-care practitioners. While those people on all sides of the debate want to increase the availability of prenatal care and to guard against the hazards of drug use for both the woman and the fetus, many of Longli's opponents believe his tactics will have the opposite effect. They claim the threat of criminal action will thwart treatment: a woman who knows she may face criminal charges and could lose custody of her child after birth will likely turn away from the services she needs.

On the legal front, many women's rights advocates say these proposed laws foreshadow new and deeper threats to women's civil rights. They argue that any attempt to restrict a woman's behavior during pregnancy violates her right to privacy. Further, they consider legislation criminalizing such dangerous behavior an easily won first step—one that could set standards for regulating other activity during pregnancy.

Marcy Wilder, a staff attorney for the National Abortion Rights Action League, adds, "Legally, it's very frightening because there is no end to it. If you start with drugs, then you get to alcohol, which is a legal drug, then you get to too much exercise or too little exercise—any type of behavior that a pregnant woman might engage in that's potentially harmful to the fetus. It opens the door to regulating all kinds of behavior."

Intervention prevention: Recent efforts to restrict pregnant women's behavior are just the latest and most draconian in a series of judicial rulings that began in the '50s and slowly launched a movement toward increasing state intervention in a woman's pregnancy. As Molly McNulty notes in an essay published in the *New York University Review of Law and Social Change*, Anglo-American common law until the mid-20th century "did not recognize any assertable interest in the fetus," resting, instead, on a "born alive" rule that said legal personhood required the fetus merely to be born alive.

This rule, however, has slowly eroded. The first break with precedent, according to McNulty, came during a 1946 civil case in which parents gained standing to sue a third

party—a doctor—for prenatal harm. Since then that precedent has been cited by prosecutors in both criminal and civil cases involving the destruction of a fetus in utero. For example, several states allow parents to file vehicular homicide charges against those who cause car accidents resulting in the death of fetuses. In these cases, interests of a pregnant woman coincide with those of the fetus, as both are being protected against outside attack by a third party.

Many women's rights advocates believe such laws are necessary safeguards. Recognition of fetuses in wrongful-death actions

The cases raise questions about the responsibility of a woman to care for herself during pregnancy, the power of the state to intervene in a woman's life, and the balance of rights between those of a woman and her fetus.

compensates the parents for the loss of an expected child, protects pregnant women from physical assault and, possibly, helps deter third parties from violently terminating pregnancies.

Continued on page 22

Overwhelming barriers face pregnant women seeking drug-treatment programs

Pregnant women seeking entry into drug-treatment programs encounter many closed doors. Until about five years ago most treatment programs were designed for the male heroin addicts who populated them in the '60s and '70s.

While the sudden increase in drug use among women, coupled with the appearance of the highly addictive crack cocaine, has prompted efforts to redesign drug-treatment programs, these facilities generally lack the obstetrical expertise to care for pregnant women and often fear obstetrics-related malpractice suits. In addition, many drug-treatment experts consider prenatal care, as well as child care, a costly drain on limited resources for drug treatment.

In 1987, Dr. Ira J. Chasnoff, a faculty member at Northwestern University Medical School in Chicago, launched the National Association for Perinatal Addiction Research and Education (NAPARE) to bring together clinicians, social-service professionals and researchers to address the problem of perinatal addiction. The group has sponsored several workshops and conferences aimed at helping-treatment experts create programs for pregnant women. But only a handful of these programs exist today, and the vast majority of drug-treatment programs continue to exclude pregnant women.

Whether new or old, however, most of

these programs now function at capacity, and placement is at a premium. In addition, many programs exclude pregnant women and few include child-care facilities.

A survey of 78 treatment programs in New York City conducted last summer found that women claiming to be pregnant and addicted were turned away from 54 percent of the programs. Sixty-seven percent denied service to pregnant addicts on Medicaid, and 87 percent excluded pregnant women on Medicaid who were addicted to crack. Of those programs that did accept pregnant women, fewer than half provided prenatal care, and only two made provisions for child care, according to Wendy Chavkin, a doctor and former Rockefeller Foundation fellow at the Columbia School of Public Health who conducted the survey.

The study results, says Chavkin, exemplify the near-overwhelming barriers facing pregnant women who seek drug treatment, and recent efforts to file criminal charges against pregnant drug-addicted women present yet another barrier. "The point is," Chavkin says, "that women are caught between a rock and a hard place. They have zero evidence to say that prosecution is a deterrent, in addition to the fact that for most of these women there is no alternative."

A recent telephone survey of 14 public

hospitals and four private hospitals in 15 cities, conducted last April for the U.S. House of Representatives Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families, found that 12 of the hospitals reported having no place to send pregnant addicted women for treatment. This means that each year hundreds of thousands of newborns suffer the effects of their mothers' drug use. NAPARE puts that number at nearly 400,000, estimating that 11 percent of all newborns have been exposed to illicit drugs in utero. In a NAPARE survey of 36 hospitals around the country, exposure rates ranged from 3 to 25 percent.

In California, for example, officials estimate that 12,000 infants born each year have been exposed to alcohol and/or drugs during their mother's pregnancies. At Martin Luther King Jr. Hospital in Los Angeles, the neonatal intensive-care unit reported that 60.9 percent of its 1988 Medi-Cal admissions—which mainly cover pregnant women—were drug- or alcohol-related.

NAPARE's Chasnoff estimates that in Illinois the cost of providing drug-treatment and prenatal services for a cocaine-addicted woman is \$7,000, compared to the \$31,000 cost of caring for a drug-affected newborn whose mother received no prenatal care.

—M.G.

By Diana Johnstone

WITH ALL THAT IS HAPPENING IN Europe, sub-Saharan Africa is increasingly forgotten. The pope, who apparently thinks of everybody, recently whirled through the region, warning against "the myth of economic progress." In Africa, it is indeed a myth.

In fact, the continent's condition threatens only to worsen. And the already grim situation has been exacerbated by recent events in Europe, which have had the following detrimental effects.

1. Investment is pulling out. This was happening even before the Berlin Wall came down, as investment was being attracted by prospects of the European Community single market. But the process has been accelerated by new investment prospects in Eastern Europe.

Private investment in Africa has dropped nearly 25 percent since 1980. In mid-January, the executive secretary of the United Nations

DECLINE

Economic Commission for Africa, Adebayo Adedeji, presented his preliminary evaluation of African countries' economic results for 1989 and prospects for 1990, showing that net capital transfer out of Africa last year equaled \$5.5 billion. Private disinvestment was actually greater than that figure, since public aid increased. But that aid will also soon dry up, as West European governments earmark their spare billions to help post-communist Eastern Europe.

Under the leadership of Yoweri Museveni, Uganda has been making notable progress in recovering from the terrible misrule of Idi Amin and Milton Obote. But last November, Makerere University in Kampala had to shut down and send home its 2,500 students as a result of a "temporary" cutoff of financing from Italy, Uganda's main source of development aid. The reason for the cutoff was beyond Uganda's control: Italy, like the rest of Western Europe, has lost interest in the Third World as it turns its attention and investment capital toward exciting opportunities in Eastern Europe. Uganda faces

As the West pulls out of Africa the continent heads toward chaos

economic disaster: its only cash export is coffee, and last month world-market coffee prices reached a 15-year low.

During the oil boom, oil-producing Nigeria promised to be the economic motor of Africa. In 1985, half of all black Africa's income was earned by Nigeria, mostly by oil. By 1987 its share had dropped to 20 percent. Last December, it was reported that foreign banks were pulling out of the country. Bismarck Rewane of the International Merchant Bank Ltd. told Reuters that "Africa doesn't have the purchasing power to be considered important." Besides, he added, it lacks the infrastructure for efficient operations. Since embarking on an International Monetary Fund (IMF) cure in 1986, Nigeria has devalued its currency to less than one-tenth of its 1985 value.

Bank withdrawal is quickly becoming commonplace. Although the French government has kept up its economic aid to African governments, French business and French banks are massively pulling out. African banks are going bankrupt.

Last April, Adebayo Adedeji warned African Cabinet ministers meeting in Addis Ababa that Africa was facing "an economic, political and social collapse."

In November 1988, Maxim Ghilan wrote in his Paris-based newsletter *Israel & Palestine*, "Both West and East are planning to jettison the most underdeveloped—or most exploited and drained-off—parts of the Third World. Sahel and sub-Sahel Africa, for instance, are scheduled to go down the drain, with at least 30 million human beings perishing from drought, locusts, AIDS, and other pandemics. ...Saving this area would cost too much."

2. There is no more Cold War bipolarity to play on. The Cold War enabled some African states to obtain aid by implicit threats to go over to the other side. For in-

stance, in recent years the traditionally stingy Bonn government was moved to give development aid to Africa only in the effort to offset East German influence. But now that Eastern Europe is giving up on Africa, the

In the '80s U.S. policy toward Africa was dictated mainly by conservative think tanks and an international "intelligence community" linked to the extreme right.

rules are changing. Last month, for example, South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha was welcomed to Budapest for friendly talks with Hungary's post-communist government on trade and possible recruitment of skilled white immigrants.

With no more "communist threat" from the East, Africa's loss of strategic interest accompanies its loss of economic interest. This could be good news as well as bad if it meant an end to CIA-backed "anti-communist" wars. But wars can always be carried on for newly defined causes and may be the last activity to lose outside support.

3. Europe's search for unity underscores Africa's divisions. Most of Africa's multitude of little states were modeled after the colonial administrations of their former masters. The sumptuary expenses of these multiple bureaucracies—each with its army, diplomatic corps and plethora of administration, whose employees usually augment

through corruption the incomes with which they are obliged by custom to support an extremely extended family—use up the shrinking revenues of these states, dependent basically on duties on their cash crops and foreign aid.

African countries account for most of the states in the ACP (Africa, Caribbean and Pacific) group that have been granted trading concessions by the European Community (EC) under the so-called Lomé Conventions. Most of the ACP countries were former colonies that feared losing their favored trade status with the old European metropole. The Lomé accords, renewed and revised every five years since 1975, have tended to perpetuate trade patterns inherited from colonialism.

The ACP countries have sought these accords for lack of any alternative. Their economies were formed to sell cash crops—some 10 staples account for most ACP-EC trade—to European markets. The ACP countries need Europe more than Europe needs them: some 70 percent of ACP exports go to EC countries, whereas Africa accounts for a mere 3 percent of EC trade.

Lomé I, as it was dubbed, set up various permanent mechanisms, including the "Stablex" (stabilize exports) system, to make up for losses of export earnings from world-market price fluctuations. However, the EC's Stabex allocations were not able to cover the huge losses due to recent drops in the prices of staple cash crops such as cacao and coffee.

ACP countries momentarily balked at signing the latest accord, Lomé IV, last fall. They were given support from the European Parliament, which threatened not to ratify it unless it provided at least 12 billion ecus (the European accounting unit, close to the U.S. dollar) over the next five years. But even this is a small token compared to Africa's needs.

Under attack for protectionism inside the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) negotiations, the EC is ready to make concessions to the reigning free-trade dogma at the expense of the ACP countries. This means granting access to the EC market to the much more heavily capitalized tropical production of Brazil, Indonesia, Malaysia or Thailand on the same terms granted the ACP countries. The Africans cannot compete with the new "dragons."

Of the EC countries, only France still feels a strong political obligation toward Africa. It is the main provider of bilateral aid to Africa, 20 percent of the total compared to 5 percent from the other main former colonial power, Britain, which feels morally exempted by its free-trade dogma. France supports the currency of 13 African countries, the CFA franc, keeping it overvalued at 50 to one French franc. This arrangement has ensured that French private investors could repatriate profits. As they come home, it is noted that the artificially hard currency is easy for corrupt African leaders to transfer to Swiss banks or use to buy luxury apartments in Paris. The prospect of a common EC currency is hastening the day when France will abandon the CFA franc.



A man surveys the damage done to his home in South Africa's Botha's Hill area during 1987 floods that left thousands homeless.

AFRAPHX, Impact Visuals



Filling up at a gas station in Ladysmith, South Africa. The West is leaving not only South Africa but the rest of the continent as well.

Heading toward chaos? Africa's troubles read like an Old Testament chronicle of the wrath of God: drought, locusts, famine, war and a new plague—AIDS. The imminent extinction of the elephant is symptomatic of a continent whose life is in danger.

In 1966, six years after France's African colonies were granted formal independence, agronomist René Dumont published a book titled *Black Africa is Off to a Bad Start*. Dumont, who was Europe's first ecological candidate when he ran for president of France in 1974, notes in his latest work, *Un monde intolérable*, that while Africa's population has doubled between 1960 and 1985, food production per inhabitant, after stagnating between 1950 and 1970, has since dropped by 20 percent.

Gross national product (GNP) per inhabitant dropped by an average of 3.7 percent annually between 1980 and 1985, and by more since then—4.4 percent in 1987.

Africa's debt is superior to its GNP. While that debt is small in absolute terms, it is the worst in the world compared to income. Its debt—\$134 billion at the end of 1988—multiplied by 19 since 1970. In 1987, according to the World Bank, sub-Saharan Africa with 450 million inhabitants had a gross domestic product (GDP) of \$128.8 billion, less than that of Belgium, whose GDP is \$142.3 billion for 10 million inhabitants. And the ratio has been worsening: in 1965, Belgium's GDP was \$16.8 billion and black Africa's was \$26.7 billion.

Africa is an agricultural continent in the sense that it isn't industrialized and 80 percent of its population live in rural areas. The main moneymaking factories are breweries and cigarette manufacturers for local consumption. More than other continents, it lives off imported food, as agriculture is centered on export crops.

Ivory Coast was the success story of French West Africa, but the drop in cacao prices has brought ruin to this country of 12 million. In 1987 and 1988, President Felix Houphouët-Boigny refused to sell the country's cacao, hoping prices would go up. In-

stead, Asian producers captured more of the market. Now he must sell Ivory Coast cacao at a loss to pay interest on the country's staggering debt.

Like other African countries, income from export duties on cash crops went mostly into luxury construction. The proceeds of past prosperity have gone to build an enormous cathedral modeled after Saint Peter's in Rome in Boigny's small native village of Yamossoukro, to the embarrassment of the Vatican, which has been asked to bless and maintain it. The Ivory Coast medical system is collapsing, with 1,500 cases of AIDS, even before having to cope with the officially counted 400,000 seropositive people—and this total doesn't include babies born of seropositive mothers.

The French business magazine *Dynasteurs* concluded in a recent special issue: "Where is Africa going? Toward chaos, without any possible doubt."

Which sort of chaos? If the population keeps crowding into cities like Lagos and leaving the countryside, the chaos will be bloody. If people go back to the villages, it will be good-natured chaos, like the European Middle Ages, the magazine predicted.

What needs to be done has been known for years. The questions are, is it possible, and is it too late?

In the '80s, African countries have followed IMF remedies and discovered they are useless.

The mood among Africans is toward self-criticism and self-reliance. Cameroon journalist and author Jean Ngandjeu recently wrote, "We Africans have been a little too inclined since independence to accuse Westerners of being the source of all our troubles, when they mostly come from ourselves." Some countries tried free-market devices to attract foreign capital, while others opted for socialism favoring state measures. On closer inspection, notes Ngandjeu, the differences between the two were not nearly so big as was believed, and neither succeeded in changing economic structures inherited from colonization. The problem is

the same everywhere: an economy that is totally dependent on foreign markets and completely fails to meet domestic needs. "Africa continues to produce what it doesn't consume and to consume what it doesn't produce," he wrote.

Each African country sells its production to Europe and has to buy what it needs from abroad. Thus trade between African countries is minimal.

Last September a resolution introduced by the European Greens at the ACP-EC assembly debating the new Lomé Convention was passed unanimously. The resolution said it was not enough to attenuate the disastrous

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effects of IMF and World Bank austerity by a few measures. A whole new policy was needed enabling the ACP countries an autonomous development centered on their domestic markets.

A strong domestic market is the basis of the profitable export surpluses of all prosperous countries. But Africa is not allowed to develop a domestic market, since it could do so only as the U.S. and other Western

nations did—by protecting domestic production in its early stages. Dumont points out that small labor-intensive handicraft workshops or factories, suitable to African conditions, "can scarcely develop unless sheltered by a minimum of protection—but that is prohibited for poor countries by the IMF."

Ten years ago a special summit of the Organization of African Unity adopted a "Lagos Action Plan," aiming to create an independent African common market by the year 2000. Measures were recommended to ensure farmers a living income, stop the exodus from the countryside and build food security through crop diversification. Progress has been blocked, among other things, by a birth rate that keeps running far ahead of food production, and by the unproductive, parasitic nature of the African states themselves. Each state apparatus supports a large number of people who don't want to give up their privileges.

The Israeli connection: As Europeans, both East and West, are absorbed in their own affairs, Africa's white powers are strengthening their positions in black Africa. For all their standard speeches against apartheid, black rulers like Boigny are increasing their dealings with South Africa. Israel has been renewing relations with the black states that for a while thought they had more to gain from the Arab connection. Israel has renewed its old strategic partnership with Ethiopia, where the Soviet Union is preparing to pull out. The Israelis are considered specialists in providing security to heads of state—a role likely to provide disproportionate opportunities for influence.

Aside from the implications of longstanding covert cooperation between the defense and intelligence communities of Israel and South Africa, the Israeli connection also risks turning Africa into another extended surrogate battlefield for the endless Arab-Israeli conflict. Some African observers are speaking of Sudan as "the next Lebanon," with Arabs supporting the north in its frightful war against the south, backed by Ethiopia and Israel.

In the '80s U.S. policy toward Africa was dictated mainly by conservative think tanks and an international "intelligence community" linked to the extreme right. The American left, in answer to the request of the African National Congress, managed to popularize the call for sanctions against South Africa. This has two serious weaknesses, however.

One is that it legitimizes economic sanctions as a moral expression in international affairs. But economic sanctions have been most effectively used by the U.S. in its vendetta against disobedient poor countries like Vietnam, post-Pol Pot Cambodia and Nicaragua. U.S. food aid is withheld from any country that merely trades with Cuba or Vietnam.

The second weakness is that, with or without sanctions against South Africa, the economic situation of black Africa is desperate. An overall change of policy is needed.

Africa must be allowed to develop its own market of producers and consumers. Otherwise, as in Latin America, the collapse of coffee and cacao prices amounts to an incitement to switch to illegal drug crops. The logical outcome of production totally centered on export to foreign markets is cocaine and opium. However, considering the extremely sophisticated organizations already on top of the world drug trade, Africans are unlikely to secure a place above the rank of petty dealers and smugglers—a role they have already begun to play.

By Kevin Danaher and
Medea Benjamin

SOUTH AFRICA HAS GOTTEN GOOD PRESS lately. As the government releases longtime political prisoners like Walter Sisulu and hints strongly that even Nelson Mandela will soon be freed, many pundits seem convinced that South African President F.W. de Klerk is a true reformer. But the causes of change in this nation are far more complex than the "great man" theory of history would have it.

In September de Klerk replaced former President P.W. Botha, who suffered a disabling stroke last year. But Botha's fall from power was more political than medical, as

SOUTH AFRICA

it reflected the defeat of his militaristic strategy of counterrevolution. While Botha's militarists were successful in crippling neighboring states that posed an alternative to white-minority rule, they could not destroy the grass-roots organizations that have made apartheid South Africa ungovernable.

Yet the catalyst in Botha's departure originated far from South Africa's borders. Though the Western world hardly noticed, 1988 saw one of the largest military confrontations in Africa since World War II. The battle of Cuito Cuanavale, fought on the dusty plains of southern Angola, changed the face of southern Africa. After 13 years of invading and occupying Angola, South African troops were beaten decisively by an alliance of Angolan and Cuban units. The defeat forced the South Africans to sign a peace treaty on Dec. 22, 1988, requiring their withdrawal from Angola and a phaseout of their decades-long control of Namibia.

"Also significant was the fact that they [South Africans] lost air superiority to the Cuban and Angolan pilots in their MiG-23s," says Mark Phillips of the Centre for Policy Studies in Johannesburg. "And that's a direct consequence of the arms embargo against South Africa that has made it impossible for them to buy modern fighter aircraft that can compete with the equipment the Angolans have."

The significance of South Africa's defeat goes beyond losing control over Angola and Namibia. "For the first time," declared Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, "the Boers have met defeat by an African army." During

Great white hope de Klerk brings glasnost to Pretoria

a recent protest in Soweto, the loudest and most sustained cheering erupted when a church official thundered, "The white settlers had dreams of controlling Africa from the Cape to Cairo. They dominated all of southern Africa for centuries. And then there was Cuito Cuanavale!"

"Cuito," as the fateful battle is known, was a severe blow to Botha's aggressive policy of counterrevolution. Having served 14 years as minister of defense before assuming the presidency in 1978, Botha shifted state power away from the parliament to a largely military body known as the State Security Council. The Winning Hearts and Minds (WHAM) strategy of the military leaders involved token gestures of appeasement such as injecting money into "betterment" schemes in the black townships while simultaneously cracking down on internal political opposition and mounting a wave of aggression against neighboring countries.

But in late November de Klerk, a lifelong National Party politician, announced that he was reducing the power of the State Security Council and reasserting his own Cabinet as the supreme authority. In a further move to shrink the power of the "securocrats," he announced that the National Security Management System—an elaborate hierarchy of some 400 military-controlled planning committees throughout the country—would be replaced by a civilian-controlled system.

Will de Klerk attempt to dismantle Botha's apartheid machine?

These changes in the security apparatus reflect the fact that, in light of Botha's unprecedented military buildup during the '80s, most white South Africans find themselves less secure than before. Government violence under Botha so outraged the rest of the world that the campaign for economic sanctions against South Africa advanced more in the second half of the '80s than in the previous several decades.

Cutbacks in loans, direct investment, trade and tourism have severely eroded the standard of living for white South Africans. The Trust Bank of South Africa estimates that sanctions and divestment have cut real average incomes by about 15 percent. Since 1985, South Africa has seen more than \$12 billion leave the country in debt payments and capital flight.

Pretoria recently negotiated a three-year extension for payments due on \$8 billion of its \$21 billion foreign debt. But the country's day of reckoning has merely been postponed. Given the political turmoil, new investment is almost impossible to attract, and the only way to garner infusions of new capital is through short-term, high-interest loans.

The psychological impact suffered by white South Africans is palpable as inflation has risen 15 percent and interest rates 21 percent. Professionals such as doctors and engineers who are able to find work in Europe, Australia or North America are fleeing in droves.

White dissatisfaction also was reflected in the results of the September parliamentary elections. Of the 2.1 million white votes cast, the ruling National Party won just 48 percent, making this the first time in nearly 40 years that the "Nats" have not won majority support.

Underscoring the economic crisis is the resurgence of mass protest similar to the uprising that shook the nation from 1984 to 1986. One of South Africa's feistier newspapers, the *Weekly Mail*, announced, "The real mandate for F.W. de Klerk can be found in these figures: On the day in which 6 percent of adult South Africans voted for the ruling party, 3 million others stayed away from work; over 100 people were injured and 23 killed on election night."

De Klerk's efforts to stem the tide of internal and external pressures are a reaction to forces that he can influence but not control. He now faces the same dilemma that confronted Botha: how to safeguard the privileges of the 14 percent white minority while convincing the outside world he is ready to negotiate with a mass opposition movement that will not accept anything less than one person, one vote.

A global warning: While South Africa's rulers may be facing a riddle with no solution other than to surrender—not the Afrikaner style—outsiders should not underestimate their skill at buying time with easily rescindable, highly visible reforms. Rev. Frank Chikane, head of the South African Council of Churches, recently warned Americans, "Do not rest or relax until apartheid is dead and buried. Do not be deceived by any promise or verbal pronouncements of the regime."

Although Pretoria now seems to be on the defensive, its policy of violent counterrevolution has crippled many neighboring multiracial governments professing socialist principles. Angola, a potential powerhouse with massive oil reserves, has been ravaged by war and now is populated by ragged, starving people. Mozambique is barely surviving as a nation, and Zimbabwe, landlocked with its main trade access through South Africa, must keep its anti-apartheid actions within a symbolic realm. South Africa's regional aggression has forced all neighboring states to expel guerrillas of the African National Congress (ANC), and the destruction of railways in Angola and Mozambique means that the region must

continue to depend on South Africa's trade network.

The Reagan administration in the U.S. deserves some of the bragging rights for these conservative victories. Although South Africa has always bullied its neighbors, the massive escalation of violence by Pretoria dates from 1981, within weeks of former President Ronald Reagan's inauguration. Whenever South Africa attacked a neighboring country, the rest of the world rose up in the United Nations to censure Pretoria and the Reagan administration stepped in to protect it from punishment.

But the Reagan strategy of "constructive engagement" was undone by the popular uprising that rocked South Africa beginning in late 1984. Sympathy protests in the U.S. forced Congress to override a Reagan veto in late 1986 to impose sanctions against the country. In 1987 Secretary of State George Shultz' own advisory committee rejected constructive engagement and called for tougher economic pressure on Pretoria.

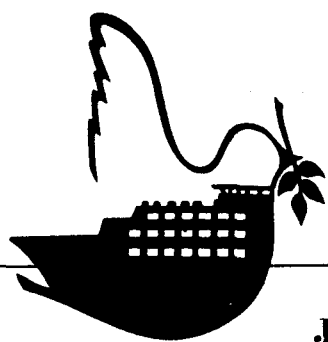
The Bush administration came to power determined to avoid the bitter confrontations with Congress that characterized Reagan's policy toward South Africa. Anti-apartheid forces in Congress cooperated by giving Bush a one-year honeymoon, promising to hold off tougher sanctions legislation until February 1990 to see if de Klerk would deliver significant reforms. Some analysts speculate that this is behind Pretoria's preparation to release Mandela.

A kinder, gentler capitalism: American policymakers must now figure out how to dispose of the more ghastly aspects of apartheid while retaining capitalism in South Africa. This was accomplished in Zimbabwe and Namibia by forcing the liberation movements to accept a deal that maintained private (white) ownership of the economy. But the ANC has learned from these cases and has prepared a detailed position on negotiations that is backed by most opposition forces inside South Africa, including the Frontline States of Southern Africa, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the 100-member Non-Aligned Movement.

The ANC demands that before any negotiations can take place, Pretoria must establish a proper climate by ending the state of emergency, releasing all political prisoners, removing troops from the townships, scrapping apartheid legislation such as the Group Areas Act, legalizing the ANC and other banned organizations and allowing free political association and freedom of speech. Perhaps most important is the ANC's insistence—backed by the OAU—that Pretoria negotiate directly with mass opposition forces, not through an intermediary such as the U.S. or Britain.

With a well-organized and politically alert working class, it is unlikely that South Africa will make the kind of smooth transition to neocolonialism that has occurred in other parts of Africa. The sophistication of the workers' movement is exemplified by Jay Naidoo, leader of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the country's largest labor federation with more than 1 million members. "We are acutely aware of the designs of the imperialists and big business to maneuver a reformist settlement in this country," declared Naidoo. "We will have nothing to do with this. Our bottom line on negotiation is that it must lead to the transfer of power to the people." □

Kevin Danaher and Medea Benjamin are analysts with the San Francisco-based Global Exchange.



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South Africa polluted by more than just apartheid, poverty and intolerance

By Margaret L. Knox

JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA

SOUTH AFRICA'S BRUTAL CONTRASTS ARE stamped as vividly on the earth as on the people. The rolling emerald fields of prosperous white farmers give way in a wink to "homeland" landscapes as scraped of vegetation as any in rural Africa. The manicured lawns and swimming pools of suburban Johannesburg lie within a few minutes' drive of a smoke-choked urban sprawl reminiscent of industrial Poland. Try to phone a government agency that coordinates enforcement of environmental laws and you'll find out that South Africa doesn't have one.

With the industrial pollution of a First World economy, the poverty-related environmental degradation of a Third World economy and the iron fist of emergency rule, South Africa is an environmentalist's worst nightmare. South Africa, however, has few environmentalists. Those inclined to take up the Earth's cause admit that fighting apartheid takes all their political energy. The few who organize against pollution are harassed by a government notorious for its harsh intolerance of dissent.

The industrial juggernaut that fuels what the government calls the "most advanced economy on the continent" also pours nearly every imaginable toxic compound into the ecosystem. Gold processing requires cyanide, coal burning creates sulfur dioxide, steel production leaves lead pollutants. And with the economy slipping deeper into crisis each year, the government is fearful of enforcing laws that might disadvantage industry. Disinvestment and the trade deficit have lost South Africa nearly \$8 billion over the last three years—an amount greater than an entire year's production of gold.

The future doesn't look much brighter. South Africa's \$21 billion foreign debt equals almost one-third its 1987 gross national product. The financial crunch is so bad and the environment is of such little concern that when the tiny African nation of Guinea rejected a load of toxic waste last year, the South African business magazine *Financial Mail* urged the government to "seize the opportunity" in hazardous-waste disposal as a new source of foreign income.

Dirty politics: South Africa's air-pollution problem is most acute in the crowded townships where urban blacks are required to live. Because township homes rarely have electricity or gas, residents breathe not only the industrial pollutants their neighbors share, they also inhale the acrid smoke of their own coal stoves and heaters. More than half of South Africa's 23 million blacks, though, have been forced onto the 12 percent of land South Africa set aside as reserves—the so-called homelands, or bantustans.

"It's been a long time since the reserves could support their populations," says Dave Cooper of the European-donor sponsored Environmental Development Agency in Johannesburg. "But that's how the bantustans are supposed to work, to force people to find employment off the land." The government forced too many people onto marginal land; too many trees were cut for fuel, and the topsoil blew away. The western reserves have turned to desert; the moister eastern reserves are ravaged by periodic floods. Ag-

riculture generates only 10 percent of income in the bantustans, says Cooper, and fewer than 5 percent of the people can live from agriculture alone. A deliberate policy of land wastage has kept blacks sleeping in bantustans but dependent on jobs in the white cities.

"It is accepted government policy that these bantu [blacks] are only temporarily residents in European areas of the republic for as long as they offer their labor there," says a 1967 government circular. "As soon as they become, for some reason or another, no longer fit for work or superfluous in the labor market, they are expected to return to the country of origin or the territory of the national unit where they fit in ethnically if they were not born and bred in the homelands."

Because of this, most bantustan residents work around towns like Witbank, the heart of South Africa's industrial colossus 60 miles east of Johannesburg. The Witbank region is home to 12 of the world's biggest power plants, which generate 80 percent of South Africa's electricity from coal.

One 24-square-mile patch of power plants, petrochemical factories and foundries in the Witbank area churns out 3,700 tons of sulfur dioxide a year, according to a study prepared for the government's National Programme for Weather, Climate and Atmosphere research. That concentration rivals the infamous facade-corroding smogs of Krakow, Poland, where sulfuric acid in the air has worn nearly featureless the once starkly chiseled gargoyles on medieval buildings.

Inconclusive: Statistics, however, are difficult to come by in South Africa. Few studies have been published on the effects of pollution on human health, and most of them are about white schoolchildren in industrial areas. A 1987 study of Witbank-area schoolchildren by the University of Witwatersrand found them to be exceptionally prone to asthma, chest colds, coughing and wheezing. Children in the Vaal Triangle area—South Africa's second industrial hub—surveyed by Pretoria University in 1986 showed reduced lung function. Martin Lloyd, the government's chief air-pollution control officer, dismisses both health studies as "inconclusive."

"People don't want to see or smell pollution; South Africa is especially bad with visual pollution," says Lloyd. "But we feel that it's not a health problem; it's just a nuisance, so why should we spend money on just a nuisance?"

Lloyd blames an easy scapegoat—sanctions. "We're a developing country with limited funds, facing boycotts," he says, adding that water-intensive scrubbers used in other countries to control sulfur emissions would be "too much to ask" of companies operating in the dry highveld around Johannesburg.

Lloyd also blames apartheid's victims, saying, "The black townships are the worst polluters."

Even if Lloyd wanted to crack down, he would have a hard time doing it. The Department of Health and Population Development has only 10 anti-pollution workers on staff. Standards are more lenient than in the U.S. And even when violations are found, the government has no power to fine offenders.

The people who suffer the brunt of South

Africa's pollution problems cannot vote or safely protest and are rarely included in any study. Lloyd says an environmental health study is planned for Soweto, the black township that with 4 million residents is southern Africa's biggest city. In most townships, overcrowding, poor sewage removal, leaky shacks and dirt floors are more obvious threats to health than a smelter or a mine up the road.

"If you ask me, I'll say I don't like it," says Molefi Mohola, a 25-year-old hairdresser who lives in Soweto. "But we don't think much about coal smoke. We've got too much else on our minds." The African National Congress (ANC), which hopes one day to inherit the country, also concedes that it is too busy fighting apartheid to worry about the environment.

"In the bantustans, 50 percent of the children die before the age of five," says Victor Mashabela, a staff member at the ANC mission to the United Nations in New York. "The burning issues of immediate life and death have preoccupied us. Personally, I care about whales, but how much can you think about the environment when you're wondering where you'll find your next meal? I'm afraid the little you hear about the environment has been coming from the white community."

Because of this, the environmental struggle has fallen to people like Jenny Mufford, a white housewife who is untrained, unfunded, unconnected and avowedly apolitical. Mufford, a mother of two, founded Women Against Acid Rain, a 300-member advocacy group for clean air. Mufford founded the group after her husband was transferred six years ago to a refinery in the Vaal Triangle. Since then, she says, her family has suffered constant bronchial and sinus ailments. Two years ago they all came down with hepatitis. Last year, when she lost a six-month-old baby, the government's General Hospital in Johannesburg refused to perform an autopsy or tell the cause of death. When Mufford asked to see the file, she was told all records had been "misplaced."

Like Mufford, most members of Women Against Acid Rain are homemakers whose husbands work in the factories that surround their homes. Unlike their black countrymen in the township beyond the local slag heap, they can afford cortisones, medical inhalers,

antihistamines, and even oxygen tents when winter inversions trap foul air and bring on health crises. But most of them can't afford to move away.

Although Mufford says she could move, she no longer wants to. "Doctors say if you want your children to get better, move out of the area," she says. "But I won't. Every morning I wake up and see this muck, and I'm reminded to continue to strive. I also think about the black people pushed out to the homelands, trying to make themselves comfortable on land that's been denuded. You can't just push people out like that."

White noise: Such talk makes the government nervous. The same bullying techniques used against anti-apartheid activists have been turned against anti-pollution activists. "If you make too much noise about things and you're in business, they'll ostracize you," says the owner of a company that sells pol-

ENVIRONMENT

lution-control equipment and who feared government harassment if identified. "If you're not born here, they'll kick you out. This is not, I'm discovering, anything like a free society—even for whites."

Kat Channing-Pearce, the Natal farmer's wife who founded Chemwatch, leaked a government agriculture department report and soon after received visits from agents of the National Intelligence Service. "They wanted to know whether I was involved in Greenpeace, whether I was a member or had corresponded with them," Channing-Pearce says. When Natal Environmental Network Chairwoman Molly Kudla carried a placard that said "Ban hormonal herbicides" at a hall where the deputy minister of agriculture was speaking, the South African police detained her for questioning and told her the action was illegal under the state of emergency.

"That's way beyond the bounds of the Emergency," says Anton Harber, editor of the 25,000-circulation *Weekly Mail* newspaper. "People just assume that under the emergency everything is against the law. And of course the state tries to convey that."

Conservative South African whites say Americans must stop seeing their country's problems in simple black and white, because there are many shades of gray. Perhaps they are referring to the skies over Witbank and the Vaal Triangle, the townships' coal-smoke shrouds and the overgrazed dust bowls of the bantustans.

Margaret Knox reported on southern Africa from Zimbabwe for nearly three years. She recently moved to Missoula, Mont.

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January 31, 1990

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The last years of the '80s brought explosive political changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, and a depressing continuity in the domestic policies of our country. The Cold War, which has dominated American politics as the ideological glue of corporate social priorities for 40 years, is over. But those in charge in Washington still cling desperately to the military economy, substituting the War on Drugs -- and on Central America -- for the Evil Empire.

While the Bush administration escalates its militarization of Latin America and sends American troops to seize the leader of a sovereign nation, the media cheers it on. The unanimity with which television and newspaper commentators parroted administration lies about the situation in Panama was infuriating but not surprising. Journalists working in the corporate media are either unwilling or unable to live up to the claims of an allegedly free press.

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Once upon a time,
 there lived a girl
 named Rosie Scenario...



Bush's proposed budget betrays his public trust

"The peace dividend," administration leaders say, "is peace," and President Bush's proposed 1991 budget offers nothing more. In fact, as the recent invasion of Panama portended, even "peace" has been limited by George Bush to mean only the absence of global war. For if we were to take the meaning of the budget from the priorities its numbers imply, "peace" would not mean an end to military involvement in the Third World or to international tensions outside of Europe. Nor would it mean social peace and the development of a more humane society at home. In fact, it would not even mean the end of the threat of nuclear war. On its face, the president's budget indicates only a recognition that land war in Europe is no longer on the list of rationales for a militarized economy. Beyond that, all the Reagan-era priorities remain intact (see story on page 3).

Overall, the administration wants to spend \$5.3 billion more on arms in 1991 than in 1990, while it proposes to cut \$18.5 billion from Medicare and farm subsidies. There is a slight increase in spending for education in the Bush plan—some \$1.2 billion—but as we noted two weeks ago, the Council on Economic Priorities estimates that the government must spend an additional \$20 billion a year just to bring us up to the average spending on primary and secondary education of the 15 leading industrialized nations. Spending on food stamps would increase at less than the rate of inflation, and child-nutrition programs would be cut by \$150 million dollars. Despite the housing crisis and the flood of homeless people on our streets, spending on housing would be cut and subsidies for AMTRAK eliminated. But not to worry, our kinder and gentler president proposes an increase of \$2.1 billion in spending for NASA—about 15 percent—so that we can send some astronauts back to the moon.

National defense needs: A government that increases military spending cannot also increase social spending without increasing either taxes or the federal deficit. No one in Washington would propose increasing the deficit, and the president has made it politically impossible to increase income taxes—even while sneaking regressive excise taxes in here and there. But, as the Center for Defense Information (CDI) argues, our national defense does not depend on a massive military establishment. As long as the Soviet Union retains the ability to destroy us with nuclear weapons, they say, we must retain a retaliatory force to deter an attack by a future Soviet ruler. But such a defense posture would allow us to reduce our military spending by one-third without endangering security. That would mean a savings of \$100 billion a year, and it would allow us to cut

the deficit while substantially increasing spending for education, housing, rebuilding our infrastructure and other social needs. Such spending would do more to strengthen the nation than throwing billions of dollars at the military, CDI suggests.

Yet the Bush administration, still toeing the Reagan line, continues to obscure the truth about defense and the deficit. Budget Director Richard Darman maintains that continued international threats warrant increased spending on Star Wars missile defense and other new weapons like the Stealth bomber. Indeed, the cuts that are proposed in military spending are almost all for personnel and base closings, while the giant arms corporations are given generous increases.

Not surprisingly, this is a class-biased budget. But it is one designed by an extremely short-sighted and greedy sector of our ruling class. As Duke University political scientist James David Barber recently pointed out, George Bush is an aristocrat who acts to advance the interests of "the rich and powerful." The president wards off "the challenge of real democracy, not by damning the people (at least in public) but by confusing them," Barber says. He comes across as a "strong advocate of uplifting education and the environment and the homeless," but, in fact, he advances only the "welfare of the rich." Bush "sweeps aside history and planning in favor of immediate wheeling and dealing," Barber argues. He surrounds himself with "assistant managers to grab the present" while "advocating values that his actions undercut, such as a 'kinder gentler America.'"

The administration's 1991 budget and the rationales presented for it by Bush seem to use Barber as a blueprint. It is the budget of an administration with greater loyalty to military contractors—the big ones—than to the American people, and with a rapacious eye on the present and a blind eye to the future.

And it is also a budget brilliantly designed to confuse the opposition in Congress, which it does by creating a brawl over the proposed closing of dozens of military bases in congressional districts with Democratic representatives. Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D-CO), who heads the Armed Services Subcommittee on Military Installations, calls this "an unbalanced partisan hit list." Her figures show that 19 of the 21 bases under consideration for closing are in Democratic districts, as are 99 percent of the civilian jobs that would be cut if the proposals are carried out. As everyone knows, such a list will generate frantic efforts among House members to save jobs in their districts, thereby diverting attention away from the more important issues raised by Bush's proposals.

LETTERS

Gross distortions and inaccuracies

THE EARTH FIRST! ARTICLE BY JULIA GILDEN (*ITT*, Jan. 17) was laced with hyperbolic rhetoric that would have been more appropriate in the *National Enquirer* or to equally thoughtful publications sold at supermarket checkout counters.

The gist of the article was that Earth First!ers are trying to form coalitions with members of the International Workers of the World (IWW) to prevent the further rape of our northwestern forests. However, many of the remarks that were used to explain this coalition were simply inaccurate. For example, longtime activist Judy Bari is quoted (without quotation marks) as saying that there are "red-necked loggers who have wept while felling ancient redwoods and there are hippy marijuana barons who have clear-cut old growth to make way for their cash crop." Judy Bari told me she didn't say that, simply because it's not true. This is the kind of gross exaggeration that runs throughout Julia Gilden's piece.

It is distressing to assume that *In These Times* does not have a reliable checker to substantiate such gross distortions and inaccuracies. In another instance your reporter says "marijuana is the coin of the realm." At one time, marijuana played a much larger role in the county economy than it does now, but because of the growth of tourism on one hand and the effective efforts of federal agents to eradicate the rural growth of marijuana, chasing it to underground greenhouse operations, marijuana no longer is the important cash crop that it once was in Mendocino County.

All this is unfortunate. Julia Gilden had an important story to write, and she failed to write it. The main story is this—that for the first time in the history of the environmental movement, people whose lives depend upon the cutting down of trees are also beginning to see the need to sustain them and are willing to ally themselves with such radical groups as Earth First! and the IWW. This is very important. Up until now there's been a cleavage, a dichotomy between environmentalists who are perceived as elitists and those who actually make their living from the land. This dichotomy is being bridged, but the bridging of it will not be helped by the inaccurate and hysterical writing of reporters such as Julia Gilden.

Russel Norvell
Mendocino, Calif.

Julia Gilden replies: I have reviewed my notes and stand by the story. Bari did not say "there are hippie marijuana barons who have clear-cut old growth to make way for their cash crop," but she confirmed a previously published account to that effect, hence the lack of quotation marks.

Backing losers

IAM SO SHOCKED, HURT AND OFFENDED AT JOHN Judis' absurd defense of U.S. Memories (*ITT*, Jan. 24) that I hardly know where to begin to criticize his lack of political insight. Of course the semiconductor consumers at large computer systems and industrial corporations are shortsighted. We've known that for years. But to use the demise of U.S. Memories as an example, a bellwether, of that shortsightedness is profoundly to mis-

understand the issue. One would expect the mainstream capitalist press to mourn the passing of Sandy Kane's baby. To see allegedly progressive economic analysts like Judis and the Berkeley Roundtable on the International Economy lament the death of U.S. Memories is to realize how many progressives don't have a clue in comprehending the political battles in high technology.

It is not necessary to agree with the economic free-market standpoint of T.J. Rodgers and George Gilder to recognize the legitimacy of many of their points when they testified in Congress against U.S. Memories last summer. Even those who strongly believed George Bush should utter the dirty words "industrial policy" should realize that they were sold a bill of goods with U.S. Memories. The real crime in memory technology took place in the early '80s, when semiconductor companies like Intel Corp. who wanted to cut a few short-term losses decided to end all Dynamic Random Access Memory (DRAM) development. As Rodgers pointed out in Congress, it was a dangerous and shortsighted decision but not one that can easily be retracted.

As Intel's obscene profits of the last few quarters have shown, the demise of a domestic DRAM manufacturing arm does not automatically mean the loss of a viable U.S. semiconductor industry, no matter how much researchers refer to DRAMs as "process drivers." The U.S. semiconductor industry not only still holds several areas of strength but the alleged Japanese threat is a hollow one. Japanese systems houses are as threatened by Korean price-bombing on DRAMs as U.S. companies were by the Japanese five years earlier. And when U.S. companies and Japanese companies collaborate on U.S.-based DRAM plants, as is the case with Intel and NMB Semiconductor or Motorola and Toshiba, who is the beneficiary? Would Judis criticize U.S.-Japan joint ventures in automobiles, such as NUMMI in Fremont?

The real problem with re-establishing a domestic DRAM industry (besides the fact that it never really died, as witnessed by Texas Instruments and Micron Technology in Idaho), is that Kane's timing for U.S. Memories was wrong, wrong, wrong. If the Semiconductor Industry Association really cared about a DRAM consortium backed by an alliance of venture capital and systems customers, it would have reported the 1987 effort by venture capitalists Pierre Lamond and Vinod Khosla. But semiconductor companies are as stupid and shortsighted as their customers. By the time they woke up to the DRAM supply crisis, the crisis was over.

The second problem was the coalition's

reliance on a group of companies who were already suspect for the role they played in Sematech. IBM and AT&T, in particular, had played a disruptive role in Sematech's early months by trying to freeze out smaller equipment companies from participating in Sematech. The same IBM-AT&T "mafia" were the primary actors behind U.S. Memories. Companies like Sun and Apple were admittedly hesitant to join for fear of drying up their DRAM supply—but they were also hesitant because they realized that the U.S. Memories business plan was a poor one that merely proliferated IBM's DRAM architecture without granting the funders a clear-cut path to building cost-effective DRAMs. Most analysts with any brains were calling U.S. Memories a turkey when it was first announced in June 1989—not just rampant capitalists like Rodgers and Gilder but anyone who took the time to study the organization's structure. When Hewlett-Packard and other early backers realized that IBM was not going to come up with money to match its design commitments, they were understandably hesitant to provide more funds.

There is a legitimate role for the U.S. government to play in helping high tech, but it has to be in well-considered coalition ventures. It ain't in high-resolution TV, it ain't in using the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency as a second-rate substitute for Japan's Ministry of Industry and Trade, and it sure as hell ain't in backing a loser like U.S. Memories. Judis owes the readers of *In These Times* an apology for his astonishing naiveté and his inability to understand the semiconductor industry and its customers. If I were one of those typically cranky readers of mags like *The Progressive* who constantly cancel subscriptions for views that are unlike their own, I'd be canceling my sub to *ITT* already. Instead I'll simply mourn the fact that ignorant people like Judis are trying to write about high technology and sounding like defenders of corporate America in the process.

Loring Wirbel

News editor, *Electronic Engineering Times*
San Jose, Calif.

Third World job

NOW THAT WE ARE FORTUNATELY EXPERIENCING the first reduction in military research and development in many years, we have as good a reason as Czechoslovakia to be discussing a reorientation of our national goals. John Judis' column on the U.S. Memories deal (*ITT*, Jan. 24) is less than a helpful contribution to this discussion.

Judis' lament that a mere \$100 million

couldn't be wangled in a megacorporate deal to help us achieve our rightful ascendancy over Japan's chip-manufacturing capacity is not shared by the grand poobahs of Silicon Valley. Chipmaking, as distinguished from programming, is scorned by the American Electronics Association, which represents some of the worst polluters and exploiters of labor in the world, as a Third World cottage industry.

Even worse, Judis is obviously of that school of thought which advocates the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency, which invented the original ENIAC computer to do calculations on the H-bomb, as the American Santa Claus corresponding to Japan's Ministry of Industry and Trade. Just one problem: even though DARPA has already blown \$100 million in Defense Department funding—laundered through the National Science Foundation—on the Sematech concept, the only customer for Sematech's Dynamic Random Access Memory (DRAM) chips will be Uncle Pentagon.

No less than Robert Noyce, co-founder of Intel, has laughed at the notion that we can beat out the Japanese by selling electronic pet rocks to the Air Force (see *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, November 1989). This is a form of madness known as "strength through exhaustion." "It's like Willie Sutton said," says Noyce. "Why do you rob banks? Because that's where the money is."

J.K. Houck
Kansas City, Mo.

Cruel tease

JOEL BLEIFUSS' "IN SHORT" ARTICLE ON THE SOLICITATIONS of Oliver North (*ITT*, Jan. 24) was a cruel tease. Bleifuss did a thorough job of informing us of the many elements of our society that North holds contempt for but neglected to include the address of his "Freedom Alliance." This would have allowed your readers a chance to let North know what we think of his assessment of the U.S.

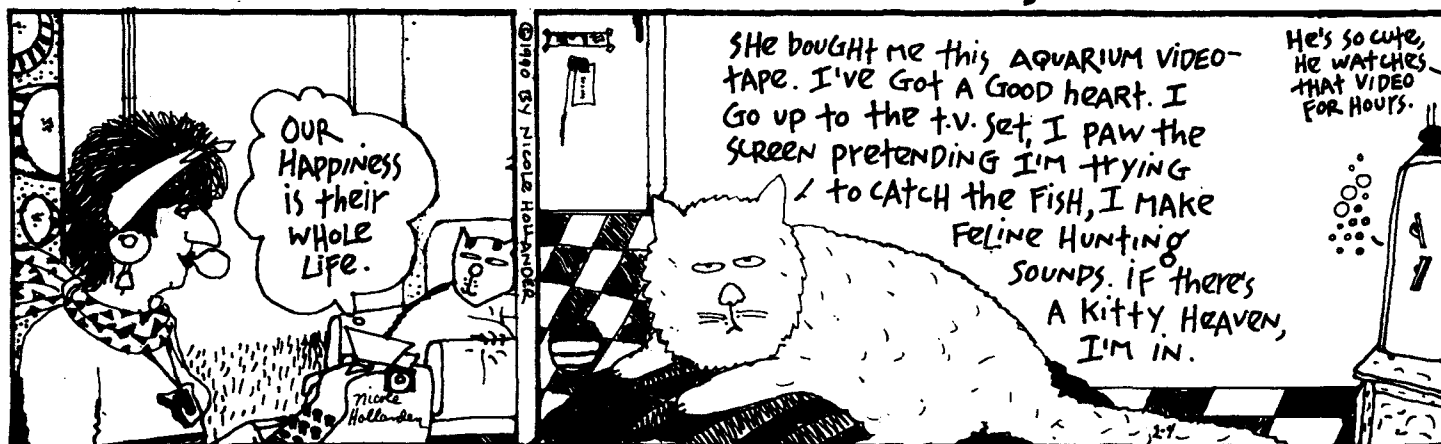
Duane Wright
Seattle, Wash.

Editor's reply: Here's the address of Ollie's favorite charity:

The Freedom Alliance
P.O. Box 96700
Washington, DC 20090

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

SYLVIA



by Nicole Hollander

By Dirk Philipsen

A DISILLUSIONED DEMOCRATIC LEFT—in full retreat the world over—had not believed it could happen anymore: a large-scale popular movement taking control of high politics. Former West German Chancellor Willy Brandt has correctly pointed out that to speak of “reform” belittles what is going on in East Germany. When a new social system is in the process of being created by the people themselves, one should call it what it is: a popular revolution. This is particularly true if it happens without bloodshed.

The pictures from Eastern Europe that have emerged on the evening news have been strikingly similar: without the network voice-overs it would have been almost impossible to distinguish the singing, shouting, sign-carrying crowds of Warsaw and Budapest from those in Prague, East Berlin or Leipzig. But the East German situation is different: in no other Eastern European country has a revolution from below, tolerated if not encouraged by the Soviet Union, had the effect of calling into question the very existence of the nation itself.

Members of the opposition movement in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) are painfully aware that, in the words of one opposition activist, “If we do not come up with a viable alternative to both actual existing communism and capitalism, the GDR will simply cease to exist.” Because of the immense psychological and geopolitical complexity lying just beneath the surface, the current East German develop-

Revolution just the first step toward a reunited Germany

ments are in many ways both the most fragile and the most significant in Eastern Europe.

An increasingly mobilized East German citizenry has thrust old questions into center stage. Beyond the stunning film footage lies a traumatized German past, punctuated by recurring attempts to carve out a national unity and by a conflicted search for identity. The first has resulted in two world wars; the second has frequently led to domestic turmoil in Germany.

Last summer, on top of a 24-story building next to the Berlin Wall in what was the heart of pre-war Berlin, a West German historian and I talked about the meaning of the massive self-organized social movement in Germany that had generated the attempted revolution of 1918-19. The ultimate failure of this movement had generated a deep division of the workers' movement into Social Democratic and Communist wings. Verified by many subsequent years of mutual distrust and overt hostility, this division provided one explanation for the absence of effective resistance to Hitler's rise to power in the early '30s. Fascism, World War II, the defeat and division of Germany, the building of the wall in 1961 to safeguard the Soviet

sphere in Germany: against such a historical backdrop the wall always stirred up ominous feelings of something incomprehensibly despicable and yet, perhaps, inevitable.

Germans born in the post-war years did not question the wall, a landmark as immutable as the Rhine. To most West Germans it offered proof that Communism was merely another brand of totalitarianism. Beyond doubt, the East German version of socialism had virtually precluded any progressive democratic agenda in the German Federated Republic (FRG). Critical voices from the West German left regularly encountered angry responses by fellow citizens routinely culminating in the question “why don't you go back East?” Thus the wall had constrained West German as well as East German horizons.

In due course West Germans had learned to live with the wall—indeed, to live with it rather comfortably. While East Germans had paid huge reparations and endured the virtual dismantling of their industrial facilities by the Soviets in the aftermath of the war, West Germany quickly got back on its feet with the help of the Marshall Plan.

To be sure, Germans on both sides of the concrete divide proved to be hard-working and disciplined, turning each separate state into the most prosperous representative of its respective social system. But on the eastern side, people struggled with repression, censorship, shortages of consumer goods and economic inefficiency that were the product of a centrally planned economy under total one-party control. And they were continually reminded of the immense suffering and destruction Germans had inflicted upon their Eastern neighbors, against Jews, Communists and Social Democrats, but also against the disabled, homosexuals, Gypsies and any other group deemed “inferior” or an obstacle to Nazi German hegemony in Europe.

It is often forgotten that this avalanche of horror fell with immense force upon the Soviets, too: German military and Nazi death squads had killed 13 million Soviet soldiers and 7 million Soviet civilians, or no less than 40 percent of all those killed during World War II. Some 60 percent of Soviet prisoners of war, as opposed to roughly 4 percent of British and American prisoners of war, died in German captivity. The division of Germany bore testimony to this tragic history as well.

Best-laid plans: Nevertheless, one of the ironies surrounding such ominous statistics is the striking fact that the post-war division of Germany was by no means an inevitable result of the war. In fact, the sundry plans for the future of Germany considered by the victorious Allied Powers ranged from the total de-industrialization of Germany under the Morgenthau Plan to the creation of a unified, disarmed and neutral Germany as a buffer between the Soviet-dominated Eastern bloc and the American-dominated Western bloc. The latter was Stalin's plan. In the end, none of these plans was adopted. In the words of historian

Richard Evans, “It was the Cold War that brought about the division of Germany.” And so, in 1961, the wall came up.

It is important, especially in the transformed environment of 1990, to keep in mind the Cold War imperatives of the '50s and early '60s that led to the building of the wall. Ironically enough, the wall came down for exactly the same reason for which it was built: to stop the drainage of much-needed skilled workers to the more prosperous West.

The first clause of the Basic Law establishing the FRG in 1949 called for reunification, a fact that has precluded formal recognition of East Germany by West Germany to this day. These circumstances produced divergent but similarly conflicted stances by both German conservatives and German leftists. Conservatives were forced to concede that the longings embedded in the Basic Law were little more than a theoretical goal of the distant future. On the other hand, for the German left, anguished by their country's history, arguments against the wall seemed to come dangerously close to a rejection of the post-war reality and, even worse, to an evasion of German responsibility for World War II.

Social amnesia: Many Germans of the younger generation were worried enough as it was about old Nazis who still occupied leading positions in government and industry in the FRG. The post-war generation was also alarmed by the widespread repression or trivialization of the Nazi past in German history books, schoolrooms and public debates and, moreover, about the growing hunger among Germans finally to rid themselves of the “burden of the past” and to carry on as if this past had “nothing to do with us anymore.”

West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, elected in 1984, perhaps best symbolized such distressing historical myopia. He managed to equate SS death squads with regular soldiers and, as a member of the post-war generation, declined any responsibility for the Holocaust, the latter view emerging, awkwardly enough, during a visit to Israel. In the historic month of November 1989 Kohl even refused, upon a visit to Poland, to recognize explicitly the existing Oder-Neisse border between East Germany and Poland that runs well to the west of the pre-World War II border. The action understandably aroused deep anxiety among the Poles.

For all these reasons, any German attempting a judicious critique of the wall faced the imminent danger of being yoked to right-wing zealots who argued for the incorporation of East Germany into one strong, capitalist Germany they “could finally be proud of again.”

There is yet another dimension to the long post-war debate among Germans over the wall and the divisions it symbolized: on the German far right, which includes the right wing of the governing Christian Democratic Party, reunification has meant not the extension of political freedom to previously deprived East Germans but rather the revitalization of an old-style German nationalism—a nationalism that has always represented, as it still does, a dangerous mixture of anti-democratic authoritarianism and sentiments of German superiority.

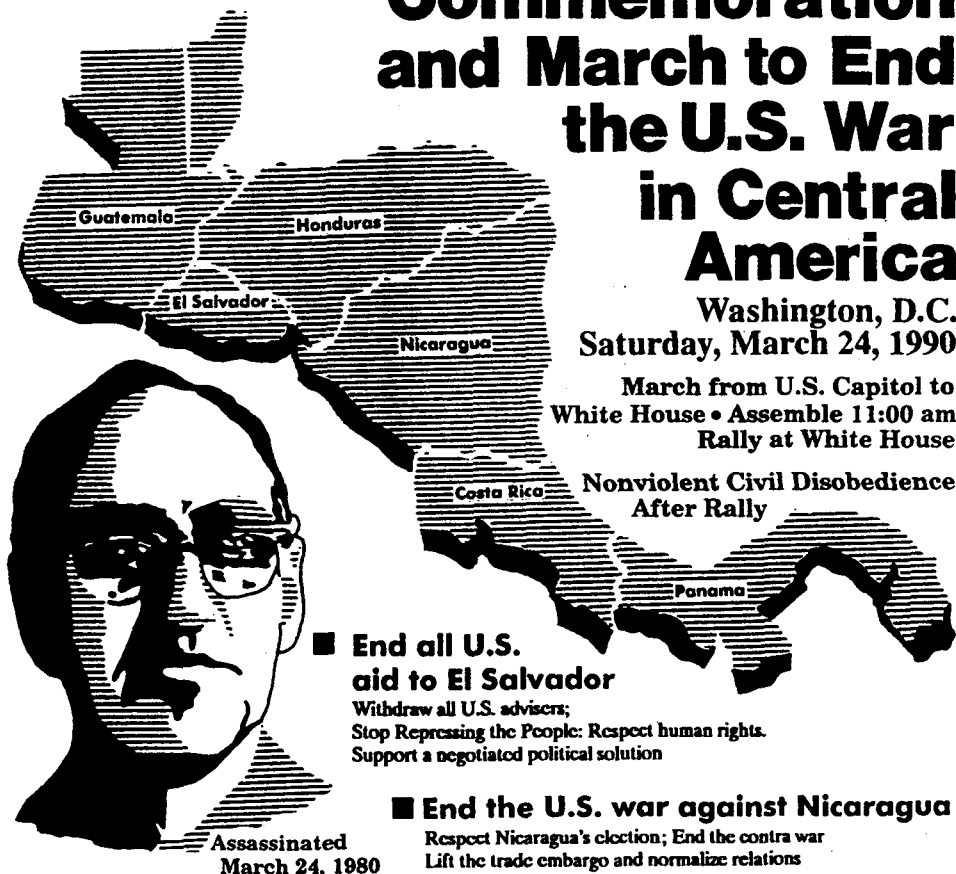
Hard questions need to be addressed: are the Germans of East and West indeed still

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VIEWPOINT

"one people" belonging to one nation, any more than, say, West Germans and Austrians? As one concerned observer has aptly noted, "There is no fundamental reason why a linguistic or cultural group such as the Germans should need to be united under a single state, any more than the same principle should be applied to other linguistic or cultural groups, such as the English-speaking nations." Germany as a unified nation, in fact, had a rather short and violent history with continuously changing borders. What do commentators and politicians mean when they talk of the *Deutsches Volk*, or the German people: everybody within the borders of the first German Empire founded in 1871, the truncated 1919 Versailles version after World War I or, perhaps, even Hitler's Germany of 1938? No Germany ever existed for more than 44 sequential years without drastic border changes due to German aggression. Indeed, it may be best to say, in the now frequently cited phrase of a French novelist, "I love Germany so much I am glad that there are two of them."

At the crossroad: Beyond all this, there is reason to rejoice over a democratic opening of promising magnitude in East Germany. To be sure, we are currently witnessing a predictable array of self-interested and premature statements in the West to the effect that the world is watching the final victory of "capitalism" over "communism." From a more sober perspective, however, East Germany should be understood as standing at a crossroad of various but as yet unclear options. A democratic society in the making, or the forced return to inherited political models?

Members of some of the newly founded democratic opposition groups in East Germany began to wonder themselves soon after the wall came down and all travel restrictions were lifted. Indeed, within two days a spokesperson of the largest opposition group, New Forum, expressed his concern that the party leadership had probably opened the borders merely in order to relieve pressure on the government and to distract attention from a serious restructuring of society. Said he: "Right now our democratic hopes are drowning in West German chocolate." Reform energy, he feared, was dwindling as another 100,000 East Germans took permanent leave after the border was opened, following upon some 200,000 or so who had already fled during the previous three months. Moreover, added millions poured into West Germany as visitors every week. Amid the euphoria that attended such events, "the little bit of independent culture, political enthusiasm and engagement that we had mobilized is rapidly disappearing," complained Anna-Margarete Krätschell, a leading member of Democratic Awakening, another opposition group struggling for the collective building of a free and democratic socialism.

So far, however, neither the momentum of pressure nor the rapidity of resulting change has been lost. The breathtaking speed of events is so deeply instructive that it is worth recounting: on October 18, only 11 days after the 40-year anniversary of the GDR and the visit of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachov to East Berlin, party and state leader Erich Honecker was ousted by Egon Krenz, the security-police chief and the youngest Politburo member. On November

1, Krenz assured Gorbachov that he was "no hard-liner." On November 3 Krenz purged five officials of the 18-member Politburo, and on November 7 the entire government resigned. All happened as a direct result of demonstrations in Leipzig, Dresden and East Berlin and a mass exodus of citizens to West Germany via Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. On November 8, the Politburo resigned and the liberal party reformer, Hans Modrow, mayor of Leipzig and one of the few popularly respected party leaders, was proposed as prime minister. On November 9, the party announced the effective dismantling of the wall and the lifting of all travel restrictions. On November 17, Modrow, now prime minister, named a 28-member Cabinet with 11 non-Communist members, promised radical changes and open debate "of a kind the party has never seen" and declared the "irreversibility" of previous changes.

On November 22, the Communist Party proposed talks with opposition groups, began to expel prominent party hard-liners and to investigate them for corruption. Meanwhile, new opposition groups had formed across East Germany, and the rank and file of the Communist Party began to join the movement by organizing protest rallies and demonstrating against the "old guard." On December 1, the parliament rescinded the Communist Party monopoly of power and formally apologized to Czechoslovakia for taking part in the 1968 Warsaw Pact invasion. On December 2, Krenz and the entire Central Committee came under increasing pressure from a party membership demanding the resignation of all party functionaries directly implicated in the Honecker regime. The next day Krenz resigned and Honecker was expelled from the party.

On December 4, Gorbachov-style Hans Modrow emerged as the leading representative of the GDR at a Warsaw Pact meeting in Moscow. On December 5, Krenz also stepped down from his position as president, while Manfred Gerlach, chairman of the Liberal Party, became acting interim president. On December 7, East Germany's new and old political groupings held the first "round table" discussions and agreed to call for the adoption of a completely revised constitution and for free elections by May 6, 1990 (later moved up to March 18, 1990).

What is likely to be the most important party congress in the history of the Socialist Unity Party opened on December 8. The next day the party decided to adopt a new name and to rid itself "of all Stalinist remnants." The congress elected 41-year-old radical reformer Gregor Gysi, a party member with long ties to the opposition movement, as new party chairman.

Hopeful "anarchy": The party is now virtually shorn of any power or legitimacy. Old party hard-liners refer to the current situation as a "power vacuum" of "dangerous magnitude." The *New York Times* correspondent in East Germany, closer to Communist Party officials than he probably realized in his unfamiliarity with such vibrant democratic rumblings from below, announced his detection of "anarchy in the air." This, of course, is not the point. In fact, such interpretations are quite misleading. Whether made by party hard-liners or Western reporters, what such speculations have in common are anxiety-ridden and uncon-

sciously elite assumptions about the "absence of order and stable political structures." They are, in short, a product of settled ways of thinking about the process of ruling and being ruled. What needs to be understood is that the unfolding processes in East Germany offer promise of a democratic and egalitarian development—a signal of hope—in a world increasingly hobbled by political resignation.

Rather than "facing anarchy" due to a "power vacuum," a whole nation may currently be seen debating the most germane and basic questions concerning production and social organization in the name of peace, freedom and environmental protection. Such questions need to be collectively reconsidered worldwide if democracy is to be taken seriously again or if, for that matter, the human species intends to survive.

Not surprisingly, the West German leadership responded in predictable ways to such potentially unsettling popular fervor.

Beyond the stunning film footage lies a traumatized German past, punctuated by recurring, short-lived attempts to carve out a national unity and by a conflicted search for some kind of identity.

On December 8, Kohl officially asked the leaders of the European Community to "accept and endorse German reunification." The pressing question becomes: what options does such a fragile geopolitical environment leave for the East German opposition movement?

Deprived of basic human freedoms for 40 years under Communist rule, East Germans are not likely to turn into enthusiastic supporters of a reformed Communist Party. On the other hand, they have no intention of abandoning the advantages of their otherwise corrupt form of socialism: full employment, effective national health care, free education, free child care, state subsidies for basic necessities such as food and housing, a very low crime rate, few drug-related problems and, not least of all, a far more equitable distribution of national income than is present anywhere in the West.

All of which focuses attention on the one area of recent East European politics that has been most neglected in the West: the instructive demands and programs of the major opposition groups such as New Forum or Democracy Now and the newly founded parties such as Democratic Awakening and the Social Democrats. Their pro-

grams go beyond the mere reform of the Stalinist inheritance, such as free elections and economic restructuring, and beyond even those tasks that continue to elude Western governments, such as environmental protection and the attainment of sanity in military expenditures. What they have in common is this: the desire to build a more democratic, egalitarian and protective society than previously existed in either East or West. We may call such goals whatever we want. East European activists call it democratic socialism. Precisely what this means is, of course, still unclear. But it represents the resurfacing of an old political dream in a new historical context.

Beyond these elusive goals a concept is taking shape that calls for broad-based political participation in a mixed economy anchored in socially peaceable and environmentally safe production methods, and in a decentralized political structure that secures democratic openness and vitality. The second-largest opposition group, Democratic Awakening, stated in a petition entitled "Call for Involvement" that "our country is in need of a peaceful democratic renewal." Elaborating on their motives to fight for "democratic socialism," they explained that "an endangered humanity, in the search for survivable forms of human community, needs an alternative to Western consumer societies for which the rest of the world has to pay an unbearable price."

In the context of preserving this new vision, the call for reunification arouses understandable anxieties not only in such disparate places as the U.S., France, Poland and the Soviet Union but also among East German reformers. Their deepest democratic hopes will have little chance to materialize if not protected against the barrage of self-interested and profit-seeking intrusions currently generated by the West German government. Rainer Eppelman of Democratic Awakening put it most succinctly in mid-December while addressing a meeting of the West German Christian Democratic leadership: "Give us a chance to find ourselves—we need time, and, please don't misunderstand me, time from you."

Whether or not Eppelman and his fellow citizens get the "time" they need turns on a number of policy decisions still to be formulated in the European Community, in the U.S. and in the Soviet Union, as well as in the two Germanies. It also turns on the further development of the intense domestic debate currently being fought out across East Germany. Among a growing number of Germans there is unquestionably an emotional longing for some sort of unity, confederated or otherwise. But the outcome is, as yet, unclear. We will know more by March 18, the day of the first free elections in East Germany. ■

Dirk Philipsen is a Berliner who is studying history at Duke University.

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By Pete Karman

ON A JUNE DAY IN 1954, MY PARENTS, both since deceased, were arrested for being Communists by agents of the U.S. Justice Department and were ordered deported to the part of the Hapsburg Empire now called Yugoslavia, whence they had come years earlier, my mother as a child and my father as a mariner who jumped ship at New York.

Along with contributing to my general understanding of the workings (as opposed to the ideals) of American democracy, the experience left me with a more specific sense of the dangerousness of leftist literature. I came home on that day

could he invite respectable people to either venue without worrying that he would offend them or that they would tell on him?

But Rubenstein, with a let-it-all-hang-out '60s sensibility as opposed to my '50s paranoia, was positively vainglorious about his collection. And he has reason to be. According to dealers, the Rubenstein archive is probably the largest private collection of its kind in the country. Amassed over two decades at a reported cost of half a million dollars or so (but now worth far more, according to Rubenstein), it is as eclectic as it is extensive.

Chronologically speaking, it begins in America's slavery days before the Civil War. Here's a copy of Fred-

Dome and forward to a workers and farmers government," and "Foster for President. On to the Soviet Republic of the USA!" Those and other buttons, including pleas to free Tom Mooney and defend the free speech of the Wobblies, are Rubenstein's sentimental favorites.

He began his collection modestly enough back in the '60s with political buttons and stickers. At first appearance, Rubenstein doesn't fit the leftist mold. He looks and lives like a successful lawyer from the well-groomed corporate woods of Connecticut, where the leafy glades hide the headquarters of multinationals and the rambling New England colonials of their executives. But his family apparently left him

endless copies of *Masses* and *Workers and Commonwealths*, on a study shelf there sits a small, oval-shaped hunk of the industrial era. It's the steam whistle that back in 1920 sounded the shifts at the Slater Morrell Shoe Company of South Braintree, Mass. It was the paymaster and a guard from this factory who were robbed and killed, with the blame ascribed to Italian anarchist immigrants Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti.

Rubenstein showed me a letter from industrialist Armand Hammer, former owner of the Sacco-Vanzetti pencil factory in the Soviet Union, expressing an interest in buying the whistle at a "fair price" as a memento for the Soviet facility. In that same letter Hammer also inquired about original Marx letters owned by Rubenstein that he might consider donating to the Soviet government.

From such radical kitsch as the whistle, the leap to Hollywood is a short one. Rubenstein's collection of materials associated with the Hollywood Ten and the blacklist era in Tinseltown fills his bookshelves, not to mention his video den, with drama, action, conflict and betrayal.

He has acquired a rich lode from the estate of late novelist and screenwriter Alvah Bessie. It includes original manuscripts of many of Bessie's works, including his classic *Men in Battle* and his Spanish Civil War notebooks, complete with maps and drawings. From the widow of screenwriter Adrian Scott he got the manuscript holder for the screenplay of *Crossfire*, a movie whose examination of anti-Semitism in post-war America was one of the few works of Hollywood radicals that got beyond attempts to "subvert" the national consciousness by dint of peppering their films with a few positive but fatuous, passing and always

Ironically, words written to overthrow the kingdom of commodities have themselves become commodities.

patriotically couched references to vague notions of justice and egalitarianism.

There are correspondence and signed editions from Dalton Trumbo, Albert Maltz, Samuel Ornitz, John Howard Lawson, etc. In Rubenstein's video den I watched a dated and didactic but nevertheless solid 15-minute film about the Hollywood Ten made by themselves in 1950 as a fundraiser. It was just one of several rare prints he has, including a plea for Spanish Civil War refugees made

Thanks for the memorabilia

from junior high school to find an uncle hastily packing up my parents' Little Lenin Library, Father Brown books, selections from the Liberty Book Club, Paul Robeson records and various other tomes, pamphlets and papers. These evidences of subversive thought processes at work in our Queens, N.Y., apartment were never to be seen again, my uncle having quickly burned them.

Lost in that same McCarthy-time shuffle were the contents of my adolescent room, including '40s and '50s Lionel trains and miscellaneous toys. Little could I have imagined back then that, instead of the revolution, the brave new world of the fu-

erick Douglass' famed autobiography signed by William Lloyd Garrison. And here's an 1854 book, *Christian Socialism* by Adin Ballou, founder of an early communistic society in Massachusetts. Utopia in those days was the absence of servitude and the sharing of chores and the bounty of a still overwhelmingly agricultural society. Polemics were verbose, gracious and full of biblical and classical references. The notion of communism was still God's work, not yet that of the devil named Marx.

Old Karl, the scourge of the bourgeoisie, makes his early appearance in the collection in the form of a pamphlet reprint of the *Manifesto of the Communists*, offered for sale at the price of five cents by the International Workingman's Association, New York, 1883. Rubenstein deems it one of his most valuable pieces.

Moving picture: Chronology, though, is for those who have time for it. I was quickly overwhelmed by the size of the collection. It is haphazard and endless, like history itself: bits of events and movements separated in time and consciousness that blend themselves into a moving picture like electrons bombarding a television screen.

Here, a box containing about a third of the numbers published between 1907 and 1917 of *Mother Earth*, a lively magazine produced by anarchists Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman. They were lovers, comrades, co-editors and, according to the government, co-conspirators. The final issue of *Mother Earth* is headlined "The trial and imprisonment of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman."

In another box, the red-jacketed program of the founding convention of the International Workers of the World and the program of the Fourth National Convention of the Workers Communist Party of America in Chicago in 1925. In those years party members were sporting buttons with such legends as "Down with the capitalist Teapot

a rebellious gene or two. He boasts a Russian Jewish ancestor who was a captain in the Bolshevik detail that dispatched the czar and his family. His parents were New York Communists, and he's particularly proud of a retired uncle who was an activist in the old International Typographical Union.

Rubenstein was an SDSer in his college days at the University of Connecticut and, beginning his law practice, quickly made his services available to the state's left community. When local radicals have a will to draw, a house sale to close, labor-law problems or a comrade to defend, they go to Rubenstein. Among his headlines were his defense of Luz Berrios in the notorious Los Macheteros/Wells Fargo robbery case and his work on a shadowy case involving apparent high-level collusion in the passing of explosives from a Connecticut National Guard base to right-wing extremists.

Rubenstein has served as chapter chairman of the state ACLU, has represented the Machinists, AFSCME and the Teacher's Federation, and he's a founding member of Legislative Electoral Action Program, a coalition of 29 local groups promoting progressive laws and lawmakers in the state. His wife Katie is a Hungarian whose family was well placed in the old Communist government and is apparently secure in the new reform regime.

If I had A. Hammer: Amid the welter of signed editions by Clarence Darrow, Theodore Dreiser, Edna St. Vincent Millay, the four-volume findings of the Lusk Committee on the Palmer Raids, the three-volume hearings of the New York state Assembly on expelling its five socialist members and Max Eastman's address to the court in the second *Masses* trial, amid the canisters of Spanish Civil War films and the piles of posters and art books by Hugo Gellert, Art Young, William Gropper, Rockwell Kent and Anton Refrigier, amid the



Factory whistle linked to Sacco-Vanzetti case becomes a hot property.

COLLECTIBLES

ture would bring a culture in which both the kid stuff and the Red stuff would become valuable collectibles.

Forbidden fruit: Ever since that time, leftist literature has retained the tang of forbidden fruit to me. I can't help getting something of the same spark of naughtiness from cracking open a copy of Marx' *18th Brumaire of Louis Napoleon* that I get from a girlie mag. Of course, the days when America's political police, both official and voluntary, had either the need or the ability to peruse written ideas for seditious content have long since passed. But that realization doesn't stop the old puerile tremor from rising again whenever I happen upon inflammatory or even just slightly out-of-bounds polemics.

So when I first glimpsed attorney Bruce Rubenstein's epic collection of American radicaliana, the first thought that came to mind was that he was bound to get into a lot of trouble for having this stuff. Not only were the shelves of his comfortable West Hartford, Conn., home and his offices in a remodeled Hartford Victorian filled with untoward volumes, the walls were festooned with outright communistic posters. How

Meaning crawls from wreckage in Beirut

Little Mountain
By Elias Khoury
University of Minnesota Press
124 pp. \$9.95

By Joe Lockard

THE NOVEL CAN HELP RESTRUCTURE a shattered society, help transform it and aid it in creating a new identity," says Elias Khoury. And few societies need reconstruction as much as Lebanon, his home.

Khoury is a Beirut survivor, writing amid the ruins. He is the literary

FICTION

editor of the leftist daily *al-Safir* and a former street fighter. He sided with the Moslem-Palestinian-Druze forces during the '70s civil war and with the Palestinians during the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Khoury is bitterly alienated from his native Maronite culture and its politics. He

Khoury binds the novel form to the intimacies of contemporary history.

suggests that the reactionary, corrupt and Francocentric world of Maronite Christendom is a ship that is wrecked but refuses to sink.

Little Mountain, newly translated and issued by the University of Minnesota's Emergent Literatures series, was originally published in Arabic in 1977.

As a Lebanese writer, Khoury sees his task as binding the novel form together with the intimacies of contemporary history. The Lebanese renaissance writers in the early 20th century, of whom Kahlil Gibran is the best known, tended to focus on a renewal of the Arabic language. They did not deal with the political issues raised in Lebanon's 19th-century civil war or its ethnic power structure. At the beginning of this century, Lebanese fiction was based in the traditions of prophecy; toward the century's end, writing has become an act of testimony.

The modern Arabic novel lives in the shadow of Egyptian masterwriter and Nobel laureate Naguib Mahfouz, a point emphasized by Edward Said's introduction to this book. Mahfouz, by using Western forms and fiction styles profusely, liberated the Arabic novel from its lack of history. Khoury represents one direction of the post-Mahfouzian novel, that of formless prose, which has antecedents in classical Arabic writing.

Little Mountain is the Christian Ashraffiyeh neighborhood of Beirut,

where Khoury grew up. It is the first of Khoury's simple, plainly stated metaphors that are surprisingly difficult to penetrate. Ashraffiyeh is in the middle of a city that, in the '50s and '60s, was simultaneously booming and collapsing internally.

We feared for the mountain and for its plants. It edged to the brink of Beirut, sinking into it. And the prickly pear bushes that scratched our legs were dying and the palm tree leaning and the mountain edging toward the brink.

This personal hindsight is a form of anti-prophecy, for prophecies of an ever-brighter social future were one way Beirut stretched its contradictions beyond any tenable reality.

Diversity or disintegration: Jumping forward to the outbreak of civil war, Khoury gives readers a rare

portrait of urban street fighters and their mental universe. He describes small-unit tactics in the language of magic realism. "Between the hand that fires and the foot that jumps, a body crouches, straightens, crawls. When it arrives, it'll be holding nothing but the sea." Khoury reaches back into his Maronite heritage to depict fighting as a sacrament, guerrillas as altar servers. In Beirut's battle-wrecked St. Louis cathedral, one fighter "stands at the altar, his right hand the B-7 rocket launcher transformed into a priest's staff." Later he looks at the cityscape from a non-combatant's perspective, dreaming nightmares in makeshift shelters during shelling storms. The narrative shifts between the autobiographical voice and a third-person near-relation, a technique that binds the narrator to his story.

Palestine is a central issue in Khoury's work, and his 1983 book, *Period of Occupation*, called for armed resistance to the Israeli army in southern Lebanon. One protagonist of *Little Mountain*, engineering student Talal Saleh, fights against the Jordanian army in September 1969. Khoury's message is that Amman, where Arabs learned to kill Palestinians wholesale, was a necessary pre-condition to the successive slaughters of Beirut. The novel is filled with similar parallels and references to Palestine. In a recent conversation Khoury suggested that the Arab world faces two alternative routes: the Palestinian *intifada*, with its internal diversity inside national unity, or Lebanese-style disintegration.

The extreme political and intellectual intolerance within this area of

the Arab world is reflected in the ban in Syria and Iraq against *Little Mountain* and Khoury's other work. In Algeria the novel is banned because it is allegedly pornographic (a husband and wife make love in one very modest paragraph). The Lebanese readership, living in a country where a government doesn't exist to censor or ban, appears to respond to Khoury's work. His latest novel, *The Travel of Little Ghandi*, was the bestseller at a recent Nabatiyeh book fair.

Khoury continues to live and write in Beirut. A couple of months ago, while he was at work at the newspaper *al-Safir*, his apartment building was shelled and destroyed. Immediate and everyday physical risks accompany the job of intellectual reconstruction. But as Khoury observes, "Living in Beirut, you do not need to travel. Stay in Beirut and the city will travel."

Joe Lockard is a journalist and critic living in Santa Cruz, Calif.

NOTEBOOK

The Four Little Dragons: Inside Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore at the Dawn of the Pacific Century
By Brian Kelly and Mark London
Simon and Schuster, 432 pp., \$21.95

Despite all the grandiose talk about a "world information explosion," most of us know less about the people who make our clothing and our household appliances than our grandparents knew about the people who made theirs. Our forefathers could read labor journalists and other muckrakers who reported on New York City sweatshops and Midwestern factories. Today young Korean women work 60-hour weeks on our behalf, suffering an industrial accident rate that is 10 times our own, and we barely know they

exist.

Most reporting from Asia bounces back and forth between reciting dry business statistics and sounding alarms about the threat to our way of life that sound like an updated and sanitized version of the Yellow Peril. *The Four Little Dragons* is an enthusiastic and largely successful effort to go beyond both dreary staples. The authors, an editor at the Washington magazine *Regardie's* and a lawyer, are not particularly radical, and some of their book is just pleasant tourist fare. But they do take the people in these four newly industrialized countries as people and tell us something of what they eat, drink, sing, dream about and want. Just by skillfully and energetically doing their

jobs as reporters they teach us more than we would get from several seasons of straight financial writing.

We see workers on a Samsung television assembly line in Korea and learn how Taiwan's thousands of small factories instantly retool to meet changing demand in the West. We discover that the U.S. is disgracefully trying to redress its trade deficit with Asia by expanding its exports of American cigarettes, wine and beer. Asians are resisting this attempt, which the authors compare to the 19th-century British effort to impose the sale of opium in China for similar financial reasons.

We learn that in Taiwan, making steel has the highest prestige and attracts the very best busi-

ness graduates, and that Singapore, far from worrying over the "population explosion" that is supposed to be the bane of the Third World, is actually carrying through a frightening eugenics program that encourages its better-off citizens to have more children.

Each of these countries is nervously looking over its shoulder at newcomers to the export competition like Thailand and mainland China. But even the most singleminded advocates of the so-called free-market economies should cringe at a world economic setup that requires governments to bid for business by auctioning off their low-paid, maimed, exhausted working people.

—James North

The Dan Quayle Quiz Book: For People Who Think They Are Smarter Than The Vice President

By Jeremy Solomon and Ken Brady
Little Brown and Co, 127 pp., \$4.95

Lyndon Johnson once said that "the vice presidency isn't worth a pitcher of warm spit." By that standard, George Bush may have found the right man for the job. Yet even if you already think that our links-happy veep is ot-nay ooh-tay ight-bray, this quick quiz will nonetheless leave you dumbfounded.

Authors Jeremy Solomon (a former *ITT* editorial assistant) and Ken Brady create a multiple-guess test of Quayle's suspect talents, mammoth malapropisms and sundry faux pas. Solomon and Brady do such a good job penning likely wrong answers that it's difficult to pick the right ones.

For example, consider question 16:

How did a top Quayle congressional aide describe Quayle's two terms in the House of Representatives?

A. "His greatest improvement probably came in his putting. The country clubs around D.C. have some of the best greens in the country."

B. "He was always on the phone. But not with congressional matters, with the weather recording, dial-a-joke, things like that."

C. "Dan had two TVs in his office. He would watch reruns of Gilligan's Island and Hogan's Heroes at the same time."

D. "His attendance record was lousy. They didn't know where he was a lot of the time. He'd be in the gym or he'd sneak off to play golf and they'd have to call all around to find him."

E. "He was like a kid in a candy

shop. He kept introducing bill after bill after bill. Of course, they never went anywhere, and eventually the leadership told him to stop it."

(For those of you scoring at home, "C" is the correct answer.)

At times, Quayle is so befuddled that he inadvertently tells the truth, as in this question: "Once he arrived in El Salvador, Quayle told journalists that the U.S. would _____." Correct answer: "Work toward the elimination of human rights."

As that sub-par scholar Quayle would doubtless appreciate, all the correct answers are given. Indeed, the best way to enjoy the book is with your thumb on the answers page. (Funny as they are, the fake answers are no match for Quayle's foot-in-mouth acrobatics.) In the end, *The Dan Quayle Quiz Book*, like the man himself, is a bit too much of a

one-joke proposition. Unfortunately, the joke is on us.

—Jeff Reid



IN THE ARTS

Enemies, A Love Story

Directed by Paul Mazursky

Glory

Directed by Edward Zwick

Driving Miss Daisy

Directed by Bruce Beresford

By Patrick Z. McGavin

HOLLYWOOD'S APPROACH TO history is less concerned with reimagining the past than exploiting the marketplace. Verisimilitude and authenticity are the obvious casualties in

FILM

the maddening rush to jazz up box-office totals. "History," says the politicized aunt in Woody Allen's *Crimes and Misdemeanors*, "is written by the winners."

Within the power circles of Hollywood it's written by those with the weight and authority to largely reinvent themselves. What transpires is a sense of cultural and moral superiority, a new form of noblesse oblige. The most obvious example is the succession of films that obscure the achievements and sacrifices of blacks to heighten the skills and bravery of the white protagonists.

The wide release of three new "history" films provides an opportunity to ponder the distorting glass in Hollywood's mirror. Paul Mazursky's *Enemies, A Love Story*, Edward

Zwick's *Glory* and Bruce Beresford's *Driving Miss Daisy* each bear imposing credentials, impeccable literary sources and the expectations of "greatness." Each is informed, and in some ways hurt, by the talents and limitations of its creator. At least two of them attempt to correct the errors and inconsistencies of Hollywood's recent past. And that's not a

bad place to start.

Mazursky's beautiful, elegiac adaptation of Isaac Bashevis Singer's 1972 novel about Holocaust survivors living in New York is clearly the best of the three. Cinematically it's Mazursky's strongest work to date. Polished and assured, with a mesmerizing kick, Mazursky has finally given up ripping off the European models of Renoir and Truffaut and settled on a personal style and sensibility. He hasn't reinterpreted the Singer novel, just condensed the action and events to serve his own purpose.

New York stories: Ron Silver stars as Herman Broder, a Polish-Jewish intellectual who escaped Nazi persecution by hiding out in a hayloft. Out of gratitude he married his Polish-Catholic servant Yadviga (Margaret Sophie Stein) and resettled in Coney Island. Herman is haunted by his experiences, suffering from nightmares and cold sweats. He's a ghostwriter for a wealthy Park West rabbi (Alan King, a bit overscaled) and involved in a

passionate affair with Masha (Lena Olin), a Jewish survivor of the death camps. Estranged from her husband, Masha lives in the Bronx with her mother (Judith Malina). The simple Yadviga is easily deceived and believes Herman when he tells her he's on the road selling books.

The film moves breathlessly toward high farce with the unexpected arrival of Tamara (Anjelica Huston), Herman's first wife whom he thought perished in the camps. Deeply aggrieved by the war (she lost her two children and limps badly from a bullet wound), her presence fractures Herman's precarious balance. The remainder of the film perfectly captures the sorrow, joy and heartbreak of Herman's manipulations; how these three women spin and evolve around Herman is a shocking, magnificent sight. The seamless juxtaposing of farce, romantic despair and loss is breathtakingly funny and tragic.

Mazursky wrote the screenplay with Roger L. Simon, and their fidelity to the source material reaps its

own rewards. In fact, most of the gilt-edged sharp dialogue is taken directly from the book. Tamara: "You men are all alike. You go to bed with a whore and expect her to wake up a virgin." What's more, Pato Guzman's exacting period detail conjures up a world both fastidious and messy, filled with complications and danger. Mazursky, working with talented cinematographer Fred Murphy, has made an unobtrusively powerful film. With his deft summary and final, haunting images of a deserted Coney Island amusement park, Mazursky honors a master writer and in the process improves his own standing.

Tarnished glory? *Glory* is about the 54th Regiment of the Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, composed entirely of black soldiers under the command of a 25-year-old privileged Boston Brahmin named Robert Gould Shaw (Matthew Broderick). Kevin Jarre's script is taken from two books, Lincoln Kirstein's *Lay This Laurel* and Peter Burchard's *One Gallant Rush*, and the collected letters of Shaw. Though the film suffers from some awkward passages, particularly the speeches on valor, honor and bravery, and works too



Civil war epic *Glory* charges ahead to give black Union soldiers their rightful place in the history books.

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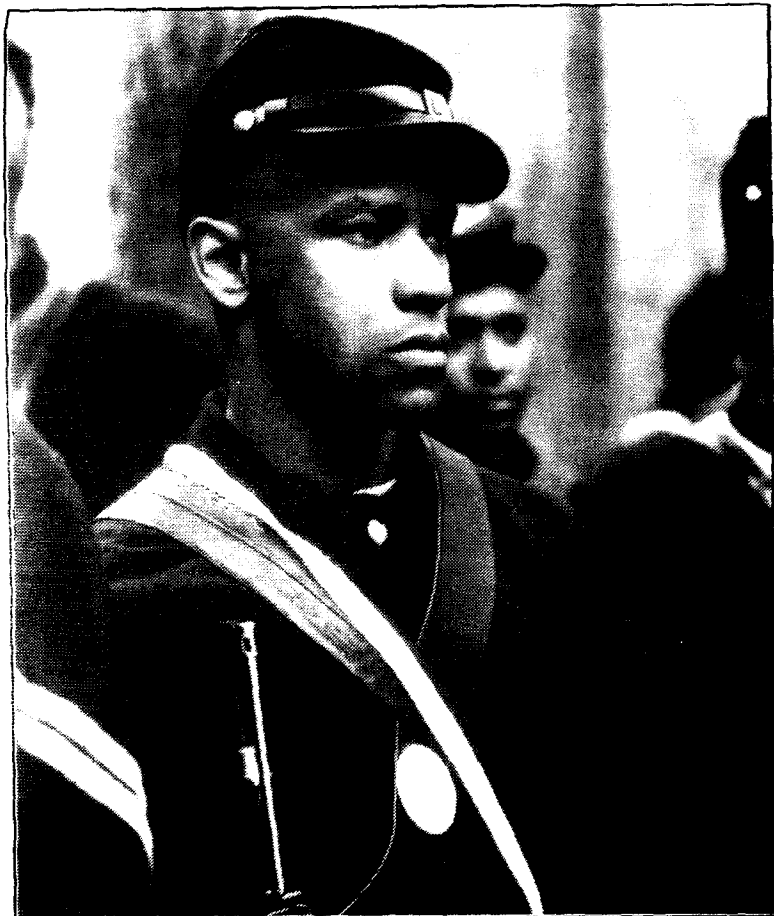
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Love is a mainly splintered thing: Ron Silver and Lena Olin in *Enemies, A Love Story*.



Denzel Washington as a runaway slave who fights for the Union Army.

hard at establishing the pieties of the white officers, *Glory* is a fine achievement.

Director Zwick is the Harvard wunderkind best known for his work in television (thirtysomething, Family and the superb anti-nuclear drama *Special Bulletin*), with only one feature-film credit (*About Last Night*). So Zwick's bold wide-screen compositions and the impressive framing and movement come as something of a shock. Two things really stand out—the uniformly fine acting (excepting Broderick) and Freddie Francis' cinematography. Francis is the 74-year-old Englishman best known for his work with John Huston and Ken Russell's *Sons and Lovers*. The visual clarity means that battle sequences aren't pretty or choreographed but devastating, obscene and brutal.

The film is particularly strong in the dynamics of the black soldiers: Rawlins (Morgan Freeman), proud and brave; Trip (Denzel Washington), embittered and skilled, a natural survivor and runaway slave; Sharts (Jihmi Kennedy), simple and

unformed, though eager and a capable marksman; and Searles (Andre Braugher), the middle-class intellectual searching for strength and cour-

The wide release of three new "history" films—*Glory*, *Driving Miss Daisy* and *Enemies, A Love Story*—offers an opportunity to ponder Hollywood's distorting mirror.

age. The emphasis on the personal and the idiosyncratic energizes the small, quiet tent scenes that provide a solid balance to show-off set pieces that conclude the film.

Acting up, but thumbs down: Had Zwick found a lead actor more suited to the demands of the role

and not insisted in refracting so much of the story through the perspective of the white protagonist, *Glory* could conceivably qualify as a truly significant film. The spectacular battle sequences at Fort Wagner—a coastal fort guarding entry into Charleston, S.C., where the 54th suffered more than 50 percent casualties—redirects emphasis where it belongs: the honored and brave black warriors who fought for freedom.

Seeing *Glory* and *Driving Miss Daisy* back to back as I did confirms what a lot of critics have been declaring for some time, that Morgan Freeman is currently the best actor working in America. Unfortunately, despite some other agreeable performances from Jessica Tandy and Dan Aykroyd, it's difficult to get excited about the film. Alfred Uhry's play (which I have not seen) traces the relationship of a stubborn Southern Jewish matron (Tandy) and her illiterate, proud black chauffeur (Freeman) against the social and political changes of the black emancipation movement.

There's a remarkable chemistry at work between Freeman and Tandy, but you can't get over the feeling that the material is, finally, insubstantial. Beresford has made some good films (*Breaker Morant*, *Tender Mercies*), and the idea of a foreign-born director (he's Australian) working in a distinctly American milieu is a provocative one. It's certainly better than his last couple of movies (*King David*, *Her Alibi*), but everything is shot in soft focus. The images lack depth and complexity; you feel as if they'd evaporate if you look at them too long.

But most problematic is the overall view of the South, which doesn't seem rooted in any patterns of dislocation or danger. It's an uncommonly benign vision, and it betrays the truth in ways both subtle and obvious. The film is certainly charming and rather watchable; what it isn't is compelling enough to warrant all the inflated notices. But it does allow Morgan Freeman the room to show off his skills, and he doesn't disappoint. Would that the rest of the film followed suit.

Patrick Z. McGavin is a writer and critic living in Chicago.

MEDIA BEAT

By Pat Aufderheide

Going Too Far

Geraldo Rivera's name has long been synonymous with sleaze "reality" programming. Now it looks like, at least in the Dallas area where Geraldo's show airs in the afternoon, Geraldo may finally have gone too far. Ten thousand Dallas-area viewers signed a petition asking the station to get the show out of after-school hours. Geraldo, who was forced to assure affiliates he would soft-pedal the sex for a while, told *Advertising Age*, "Maybe I had too much heat and not enough light. In retrospect we didn't need 10 of 20 shows with sexual themes. We could have been more democratic." But, he said, it was going to be hard to create a more balanced show: "To righteously or justifiably tell a whole panoply of experience without overemphasis on teen prostitutes and transsexual lesbians is not easy." But test the light/heat index for yourself. The panoply of *Geraldo* topics that follows was sampled by *Ad Age* from the most recent period of ratings sweeps.

Nov. 6—Prison Motherhood	Drug Smugglers
Nov. 7—Lady Lifers: Bad Girls Behind Bars	Nov. 20—Chippendales
Nov. 8—The Bad Girls' Business: Teen Prostitutes	Nov. 21—Battered Lesbians
Nov. 9—Women Who Date Married Men	Nov. 22—Contract to Kill: Running from the Mafia
Nov. 10—Girls Who Can't Say "No"	Nov. 23—Island of Genius: Real Life Rainmen
Nov. 13—Murderers Who Should Never Get Out of Prison	Nov. 24—Victoria Principal as "Blind Witness"
Nov. 14—Campus Rape	Nov. 27—Men Who Marry Prostitutes
Nov. 15—Illicit, Illegal, Immoral: Selling of Forbidden Desires	Nov. 28—Transsexual Transformations: Stages of Transition
Nov. 16—Parents of Slain Prostitutes	Nov. 29—Angels of Death
Nov. 17—Cocaine Cowgirls: Female	Nov. 30—Secret Lives of Stars

CNN—Corporate Nice News

If you fly American Airlines, rest assured that you won't get any news that makes you—or American Airlines—nervous. Thanks to CNN, in-flight news programs will be edited to take out negative airline news and anything about crashes, hijackings or airport bombings. CBS, which had supplied news to American, refused the airline's request for tailored news. ABC and NBC both offer in-flight news programs to other airlines, and both networks are considering changing to a more "flexible" policy.

I Brake for Ads

You may not have to get on a plane to see news tailored to fit, though. Look what happens when news editors fail to consider their most important customers, the advertisers. Auto dealers—the second-largest source of local TV ad revenue—went on the rampage in December after a 20/20 segment exposed some dealers' shoddy sales tactics. Some pulled their ads on ABC affiliates. This followed another recent episode in which Federal Express pulled some affiliate ads after getting negative coverage on 20/20.

Superpriced Superbowl

The next time you see that promotion for "free TV" (which is the broadcasting community's lame counterattack to cable), think about this: the cost of a 30-second advertisement during the Superbowl was \$700,000. That's a record high, and it comes at a time of record lows for "free" TV's ratings generally and of declining ratings for the Superbowl. Still, even with declining ratings, more than 40 percent of the American households with television sets had them tuned to the Superbowl, and that's very tempting to advertisers. Among those who anted up (mostly for 60-second spots): Coca-Cola, Diet Pepsi, Diet 7-Up, Budweiser, Nike, Nissan and Sprint. And you can bet they work the \$1 million-plus cost of reaching you into the price of that can of soda or beer, running shoe, car or phone call.

Beating the Smoking Ban

Cigarette ads have been banned on TV since 1971. And since 1971 tobacco companies have been figuring out how to beat the ban. Now, in the latest issue of *Channels*, two medical activists from Doctors Ought to Care have shown how effectively tobacco companies do it. During the 1989 Marlboro Grand Prix, televised on NBC, the Marlboro logo was plastered on everything from jumpsuits to cars to umbrellas to the trophy and, of course, the TV logo itself. In 93.62 minutes of broadcast, "Marlboro" was on the air 46.17 minutes, or almost half the total airtime. At this rate, cigarette companies may never need to worry that they're not permitted to buy ads, the budget for which would be considerably pricier than funding a sports event.

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SEXUAL HANG UPS

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Rights

Continued from page 7

But the concept of fetal rights has recently shifted focus, severing a mother's rights from those of the fetus. Since the early '70s, hospital administrators have turned to the courts to force women to undergo invasive medical treatments such as Caesarean sections and blood transfusions. Among the more recent of these rulings was the case of a Nigerian woman who was hospitalized in Chicago and who refused a Caesarean section. As her due date approached, hospital officials obtained a court order authorizing the procedure, but they notified the woman only after she had gone into labor. She became "combative," according to medical personnel, and subsequently her hands and feet were bound to the bed during the operation. In most cases, hospital officials who secure court orders for treatment argue that a woman's desired action jeopardizes the fetus' life.

In another and more unusual twist, a Michigan judge in 1980 allowed a child to file suit against his mother for an alleged prenatal injury. The boy sued his mother for taking tetracycline during her pregnancy, charging that the drug caused discoloration of his teeth. The court ruled that the woman's conduct would be measured against the standard for "reasonable" behavior during pregnancy. Although he didn't win any compensation, the judges' decision to hear the case set a legal precedent.

While the courts have rejected some of the lawsuits brought by children against their mothers, the large number of successful court actions to override a pregnant woman's preferred prenatal care and child-

birth method have created the legal concept of fetal rights. The scope of that legal precedent appears to be widening, increasing the possibility that punitive action against drug-using pregnant women will become widely accepted.

Most proponents of such action frame their arguments around the state's interest in producing healthy children. They juxtapose a woman's autonomy against a child's right to be born free of addiction and debilitating disease, concluding that the child's right is at least equal to, if not overriding, a pregnant woman's.

"We're talking about the right of a child who will exist," says John Robertson, a leading fetal-rights advocate and professor at the University of Texas Law School. "The woman is free to abort. Given that she is choosing to carry the pregnancy to term, doesn't she have a moral obligation to keep the child free from harm? That the causative action occurred prior to birth shouldn't make a difference."

A handmaiden's burden: But opponents of criminal action say it should make a difference legally. The fact that the fetus exists inside the mother's body, says Kary Moss, a staff attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union Women's Rights Project in New York City, creates a situation in which achieving a balance of rights is impossible. Granting a fetus legal rights independent of the pregnant woman immediately and unfairly infringes on that woman's right to privacy, she says. "Eventually what you're saying is, 'This woman is just a vessel to carry this all-important fetus.'"

In addition, Moss notes that any law regulating the behavior of pregnant women

would be discriminatory because it would allow the state to "control pregnant women in a way that no one else is controlled." The law would further discriminate against poor women who have less access to health care and drug-treatment programs, Moss argues.

Most opponents of legislation that would criminalize drug use by pregnant women believe these laws would likely prove unconstitutional. But they also note that the current Supreme Court's apparent bias against abortion rights would jeopardize any effort to fight the laws in court.

Finally, a law that restricts a pregnant woman's behavior would not fulfill the standards generally used to decide the constitutionality of a new law, says Walter B. Connolly Jr., the legal counsel for the Chicago-

based National Association for Perinatal Addiction Research and Education. When ruling on a new statute, the court must consider whether there is a compelling state interest in regulating behavior and, if so, must determine if the law is tailored in a clear and direct manner. Finally, the court would ask whether the statute would attain the desired result—in this case, healthy newborns.

It might be possible to construct a law that would be so narrowly focused as to affect only women who use drugs during pregnancy, Connolly says, adding that people on both sides of this debate agree on the desired result. But so far no one has found a way to achieve it.

Maggie Garb, former *In These Times* promotions director, is a Chicago freelance writer.

C A L E N D A R

Use the Calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$25.00 for one insertion, \$35.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of **ITT Calendar**.

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February 7-13

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ECO-FEMINISM—Margot Adler, Ynestra King & Martha Herbert; Thursday, Feb. 8; 8 p.m.; \$5.

BY THE BOOK: PSYCHIATRY AND DSM—Eli Mesinger; Friday, Feb. 9; 8 p.m.; \$5.

Unless otherwise noted, all events take place at the New York Marxist School, 79 Leonard St., New York, NY 10011, (212) 941-0332.

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SACRAMENTO, CA

February 8-9

ECOLOGY AND PLANNING: THE NEW PERSPECTIVES. An ecological conference on landscape and environmental design, natural diversity, restoration, agro-ecology and geographic information systems. Conference begins Thursday evening (7:30-9:30) and continues through Friday. Thursday's keynote speaker, Anne Whiston Sprin (University of Pennsylvania), will talk on "Deep Structure in the Urban Landscape." Other featured speakers include Bruce Wilcox, Paul G. Risser, Edith Allen, Stephen Gliessman, Robert N. Colwell and Timothy Allen. Registration fee \$90, VISA/M.C. accepted. Contact: University Extension, University of California, Davis, CA 95616, (916) 757-8892.

CHICAGO

February 11-14

Jennifer Casolo, charged in El Salvador with hiding weapons in her "backyard," will be speaking throughout Chicago Feb. 11-14. Two featured events will take place: Sunday (Feb. 11), 7 p.m. at The Commons, 2324 N. Fremont, De Paul University; and Wednesday (Feb. 14), 12:15 p.m. luncheon, Grace Place, 637 S. Dearborn, \$10. To RSVP or for more information: Chicago Religious Task Force on Central America, (312) 663-4398.

February 25

For 40 years the journal *MONTHLY REVIEW*, founded by Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy, has represented independent and non-dogmatic socialist thinking. Readers and reporters of *MONTHLY REVIEW* in Chicago have formed a new discussion group, which meets at the New World Resource Center Bookstore, 1476 Irving Park Road. The group looks at a variety of topics covered in the journal that are timely for socialists today. This month's meeting, held Sunday, Feb. 25 at 2 p.m., features the topic: "Media Bias—Techniques for Dealing with the Media" discussed

by Alan Bickley, WBBM announcer, author and lecturer. Co-sponsored by the Open University for the Left and the New World Resource Center. For more information contact Perry Cartwright, 2620 Jackson Drive, Woodridge, IL 60517, (708) 971-2620.

OAKLAND, CA

February 15-18

SANE/Freeze National Peace Conference for Global Security: "New Politics for a New World," will take place at the Oakland Convention Center, Thursday through Sunday. The four-day conference will feature workshops, panels, action groups, executive and international committees, strategy, plenary and resolution meetings on such topics as disarmament, development, the environment, conversion and security from a Third World perspective. Featured speakers include William Sloane Coffin, Dolores Huerta, David Brower and Jim Hightower. Jesse Jackson will address the conference live from South Africa on Sunday. Friday will feature entertainment by ZULU SPEAR; the Peace and Justice award will be presented to the Honorable Ronald V. Dellums on Saturday, and a Native American ceremony is scheduled for Sunday. For more information and reservations contact: SANE/FREEZE, 4042 Broadway, Oakland, CA 94611, (415) 653-8826, or the SANE/Freeze National Congress Office, 1819 H. Street, NW, Washington, DC 20006, (202) 862-9740.

SAN FRANCISCO

March 3-4

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C L A S S I F I E D S

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Art break hotel

Mystery Train

Directed by Jim Jarmusch

By Pat Aufderheide

FILMMAKER JIM JARMUSCH—WHOSE EARLIER films (*Stranger than Paradise*, *Down by Law*) swept Cannes, and whose most recent, *Mystery Train*, also won an award there—is a visual Tom Waits. Like his raspy post-beatnik musician friend, Jarmusch is archly self-marginalizing and cultivates a passive-aggressive style. He too claims to get access to a higher truth by plunging into the depths of psyche and society (usually by night). It's no surprise that *Mystery Train*, like *Down by Law*, includes Waits—this time as the voice of an all-night DJ who haunts the Memphis night with other ghosts and demons.

In *Mystery Train*, this world-weary style is beginning to pall. It's a film that burdens viewers with its self-consciousness and punishes them for their expectations. It's one thing for a film to give attitude, but another for it to be all attitude.

Jarmusch has made a tidy reputation for himself with films whose theme is the discovery of America and whose tone is down-beat but ever so hip. *Stranger than Paradise* and *Down by Law* both featured foreigners whose interactions with the dazed, alienated denizens of America made a wry comment on a fragmented culture. Jarmusch has also managed to maintain his personal voice as his reputation has grown. All his films have been made outside the studios, and his latest was financed (and supervised at a distance) by Japanese video company JVC.

Mystery Train continues the search for the meaning of promises and promises betrayed. And it continues on the aleatory line of pursuit created by offbeat characters preoccupied with their own obsessions.

The film interweaves the lives of several people entering or leaving Memphis. They are united by the common figure of Elvis, the iconic center of Memphis and, metaphorically, the nation.

Elvis sighting: Elvis makes a great icon, as hucksters everywhere know. His life is a rich source of American contradictions. His career both celebrated and exploited popular music traditions. This poor Southern boy's fabulous commercial success only increased his loneliness and confusion and made him a pop-cult saint of the American dream. In a typical irony, amphetamine enthusiast Elvis was named an honorary narcotics agent by President Richard Nixon.

Mystery Train exploits this raw material superficially but methodically.

A young Japanese couple (Masatoshi Nagase and Youki Kudoh)—he a tall study in



Masatoshi Nagase: a pilgrim to Memphis in Jim Jarmusch's *Mystery Train*.

surliness, she perky and cuddly—come to pay homage to The King. (For him it's Carl Perkins; for her it's Elvis.) They're the image of the New Consumers, the people who can tour the U.S. as if it were the Old World, quaint and nostalgic.

Meanwhile, a young Italian widow (Nicolella Braschi, familiar from *Down by Law*) is stranded overnight in Memphis when the connecting flight for her husband's coffin falls through. Ever the exemplar of a more seasoned civilization (she goes everywhere clutching her copy of *Orlando Furioso*), she graciously tolerates the rank entrepreneurialism of the hustlers she meets. By circumstance she shares a room with a young woman (Elizabeth Bracco) who's running away from her boyfriend (Joe Strummer),

an English guy who's known as Elvis.

Finally, there's Strummer's "Elvis," who takes his girlfriend's brother and his friend on a depressed drunken rampage. They all end up at the same hotel, where the head clerk (Screamin' Jay Hawkins, remembered for his song "I Put a Spell on You" in *Stranger than Paradise*) cynically watches the ways of white folk. Portraits of Elvis hover over them all.

I'm so jaded: Each of these tales is told serially; the same day begins again with each succeeding (and titled) episode. This faux-naïf narrative method devotes each segment to the particular interior logic of the characters, ensconced in their private reality, their private relation to Elvis and the transcendence he symbolizes for them.

Director

Jim Jarmusch
has found a new
place to dwell
for the ghost
of Elvis.

The stripped-down narrative style is complemented by Robby Muller's cinematography, which uses a show-and-tell approach. He delivers a sullen, street-level cruise through a landscape. The flat-footed editing—cutting abruptly without apology from one scene to the next—completes the film's I'm-so-jaded tone.

The viewer starts adding up the experiences by the beginning of the third version of the day, looking for relationships and conclusions. And there are relationships—everyone's paths cross in the dark. But the filmmaker withholds the satisfaction of easy conclusions. Indeed, because the characters from different stories never meet, the movie has a shaggy-dog quality.

Still, you can tease meaning—or at least a cynical perspective—from the film. The foreigners' evanescent acquaintance with the mythology of pop Americana passes like the train that the Japanese board: it remains glowing, touristic and transcendent. (The Japanese finally get to Graceland—though the viewer doesn't—and the Italian has a spiritual encounter with Elvis.) Strummer's "Elvis" and his buddies, on the other hand, have a grittier encounter with the racial complexity, the precariousness of work life and the violence of an urban society where dreams of magical escape (orchestrated here by "Blue Moon") fuel lives of desperation.

Mystery Train has a nostalgic poignancy that has been the emotional center of all of Jarmusch's work. It also has the loneliness so typical of Jarmusch. Memphis streets and locations were emptied for this film, so that the visitors inhabit a ghost town of Americana. Finally, it has a self-absorbed pessimism that seems both aware and smug, an attitude that sees but refuses to engage. No wonder Jarmusch loves to portray his insights through the eyes of foreigners—they get to leave.

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